MARCH 1, 1958 30c

Fellowship

MAGAZINE OF THE
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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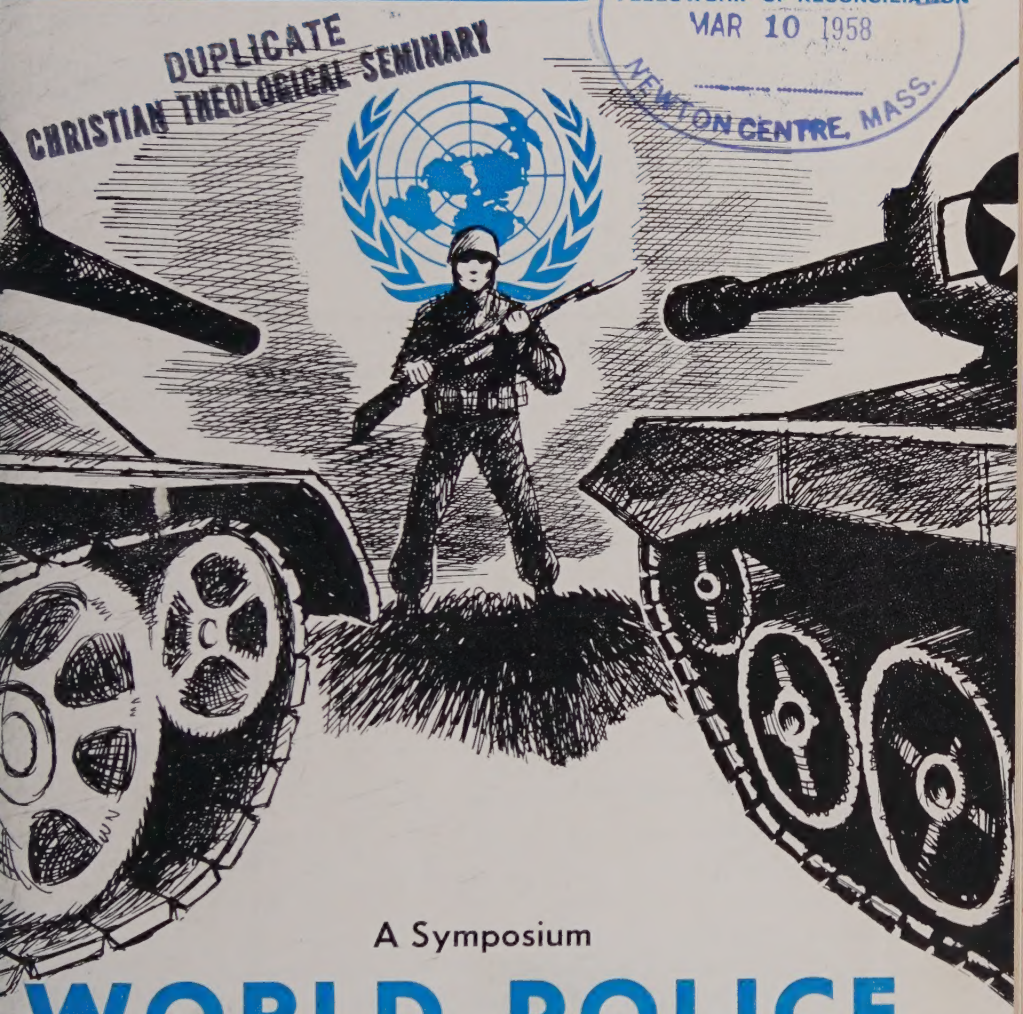

A Symposium

WORLD POLICE

Can They Guard Peace?

Milton Mayer • Roy Finch • Vernon Nash • John M. Swomley Jr.

Sid Lens — THE INDEFENSIBLE COST OF DEFENSE

Chet Holifield — FALLOUT AND THE FACTS

John Nevin Sayre — IN MEMORIAM: KIRBY PAGE

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

VOL. 24 • NO. 5 MARCH 1, 1958

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FELLOWSHIP is published twice monthly. Re-entered as second-class matter January 1, 1958 at the Post Office at Nyack, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

FELLOWSHIP
IS PUBLISHED BY THE
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

ON THE CURRENT SCENE

)LDEN RULE

our men, three of them members of the owship of Reconciliation, last month ed out of San Pedro harbor, in Cali- ia, bound for a fateful rendezvous with United States Navy at Eniwetok, in the rshall Islands. There they will sail into "forbidden area" of the nuclear testing und, a modest protest against the insane ccupation with death that has gripped r fellows.

y the arithmetic to which we moderns e become accustomed, their actions add to absurdity. How can four men in a oot sailboat even think of challenging authority of the most powerful nation earth? The smallest craft in the Navy ld blow the *Golden Rule* out of the er; the lowliest port inspector in Ha- i can pile up enough technicalities to the little craft cold. The mission is eless from the start.

et it has not added up to absurdity, n for onlookers who are far from sym- ietic. It has not added up, we suspect, isely because it *is* four men against a ernment. For the voyage of the *Golden e* is reasserting a value that is very ious in the minds of many men, and grows more precious as it threatens to ppear in a sea of conformity: the worth he individual and his ability to affect immense forces that buffet him about. gain and again a reporter would ask, elievingly, "Do you realize that you're angering your life?" and would not e when the answer came back so mat- f-factly, "Of course!"

Ve live in an age of conformity, when t men fear to endanger even their jobs stating their convictions, and the sight nen willing to stake their lives for a ef is a refreshing and wonderful sight. Ve live, too, in an age of apathy, in- ed perhaps by an unconscious effort to id the deep frustration of being aware rgent dangers but knowing no way of coping with them. Here, too, the realization that some men deal with the sources of their anxiety firmly and with serenity may bring courage to many others.

Pacifists, being human, frequently get caught up in arguments among themselves, not the least unhappy of which are those that debate the relative degree of "radicalism" of the positions they hold. It is a useless and debilitating discussion. The essence of the pacifist position—that the individual personality, of whatever race or nationality, is of incalculable worth, and that love is the indispensable ingredient of a peaceful human society—is the source of its radicalism. All else is commentary and demonstration, whether it be in the PTA, the pulpit, or walking a picket line, and itself becomes meaningless if it is not saturated with that essence.

That is why all pacifists everywhere can rejoice that four men in a small boat are giving so dramatic an expression of their faith in the spirit that gives it meaning.

REALISTIC

Two weeks before the *Golden Rule* sailed from California, one of its crew, Bill Huntington, appeared on a New York television program with A. J. Muste, FOR secretary emeritus. They answered the questions of an intelligent and not unsympathetic interviewer, and engaged in discussion with a third guest, Mr. William Wasserman, introduced as a friend of Adlai Stevenson and an adviser to the Democratic Party. Mr. Wasserman, it turned out, was also the voice of "realism" on the program.

Rarely has the contrast between "realism" and "idealism" been so dramatically marked. Mr. Wasserman, a decent and intelligent man, is deeply concerned about nuclear weapons and the arms race. He recognizes the need for a "new approach," and the likelihood that unless a new approach is discovered, the world may soon be engulfed by utter catastrophe.

But even staring catastrophe in the face, Mr. Wasserman is not able to let go of the old ways. Since the old ways no longer make sense to intelligent men, Mr. Wasserman found himself talking palpable nonsense.

No, he said in answer to a question, he didn't think that the voyage of the *Golden Rule* made sense, because it was idealistic and unrealistic. But maybe, he added quickly, with things as desperate as they are, maybe we need some unrealism.

Then, said the interviewer, why don't we really try some idealism? Why don't we try disarming unilaterally, and see how this power of love works?

Oh, no, said Mr. Wasserman, quickly, that's *too* unrealistic.

So this realistic man, friend of Adlai Stevenson and adviser to the Democratic Party, took refuge in a "realistic" proposal that all nuclear weapons be turned over to the United Nations, to be used "without discrimination" against any nation that violates the peace.

"Unrealism" never sounded better!*

HERO

It would be difficult to find a better example of the unlimited possibilities open to the boy who takes up science these days than the scintillating career of Dr. Wernher von Braun.

Dr. von Braun, as everyone who can read a newspaper knows, is the scientific genius who developed the rocket that pushed an American satellite into orbit, thus retrieving a considerable chunk of American self-respect, and perhaps saving democracy itself from the danger of extinction at the hands of the Russians.

This in itself would be no mean claim to fame, but Dr. von Braun has other stars in his crown. Only a few years ago he was giving his all for the gentleman then fulsomely described as the "madman of Berlin," doing his best to help Adolf Hitler subdue the "pluto-democracies" in order to make the world safe for the *Herrenvolk*. At the time, American military men would have given a lot to drop a bomb on the young genius' head, and it is a sobering thought that had they done so, and thus prevented the rain of V-2s on London, t United States might now be hopelessly o of the arms race!

It brings to mind the current joke abo the two American and Soviet missiles perts who met in a neutral country fo discussion. The Russian couldn't spe English, and the American knew no R sian, so they talked in their native tong —German.

DAY THAT WILL LIVE IN INFAM

Sixteen years, one month and 22 d later, four Japanese warships sailed i Pearl Harbor to pay tribute to the 1 men who died on the battleship Arizo The Japanese fired a 21-gun salute to United States and a 17-gun salute to reigning American admiral, which were swered by a Marine detail with four how ers. Then the ships tied up and "N bandsmen joined with grass-skirted h girls to give the visitors an island-style v come."

DIGNITY

New unrest in Little Rock, and the p ence of the Fellowship's "reconciliat team" in the South, bring a reminder a piece that was intended for this sp three issues back but was crowded out cause of space limitations. It had to with the amazing dignity and courage hibited by some of the Negro children v faced hostile mobs in the South on t way to school. It is doubtful that any has captured the essence of that spiri well as Kays Gary, a columnist for the C lotte (N. C.) *Observer*, who watched year-old Dorothy Counts walk to h school and went back to the office wrote these words:

And this is the way she carried he
head
They spat and she was covered with
Spittle dripped from the hem of he
dress,
It clung to her neck and her arms an
she wore it.
They spat and they jeered and
screamed.
A boy tumbled out of the crowd an
hit her in the back with his fist.
Debris fell on her shoulders an
around her feet,

* Tape recordings of the interview referred to are available. Write FELLOWSHIP for information.

nd the posture of her head was unchanged.
his was the remarkable thing.
nd if her skin was brown, you had to admit that her courage was royal purple,
or how many of us could have taken that walk—to and from school?

DICTMENT

ll Americans know that our current inational troubles stem from (1) the ked Communists and their plans for ld domination, and (2) the inexplicalapses from good sense on the part of er foreign nations, when they behave hough we were somehow also to blame various unpleasantnesses. But a good ıy Americans also are beginning to n that there is quite a lot of this undly feeling around, and this has cre some uneasiness.
he explanation that seems to be growin popularity is that the United States been getting a bad press. If the Eurons and the Asians and Africans could see us Americans as we know we ly are, in the purity of our attitudes actions, many of our problems would olve overnight. But the Communists fully misinterpret everything we do or and Mr. Dulles is something less than ot at putting our best foot forward. at we need more than anything else—argument goes—is a good press agent.
here is something to this. Both the erican people and their way of doing gs are considerably better than Ameriforeign policy frequently makes them . But this is by no means the end of matter. There is a bill of particulars mpanying the general indictment, and amount of interpretation will explain y some of the facts it contains. As a on we had better begin thinking hard ut them, and preparing to set them t, if we have any idea of enduring very h longer. A random sampling of some hese things might look like this.

ur standard of living is much too high. only do we live fantastically better do most human beings, but we live better than the resources of the world e possible for earth's inhabitants geny. Dr. Brock Chisholm, formerly director-general of the World Health Organization, writes: "At the present time, North America is using just about half of the total production of irreplaceable natural resources of the world. Since the First World War—which wasn't so long ago—North America has used up as much of these irreplaceable natural resources as the whole human race had used up to that time."*

We destroy food while people starve. There is a damning simplicity to the fact that we pay a million dollars a day simply to store surplus food, and pay farmers millions more not to grow capacity crops, while acute hunger is a raw fact of life for many millions of men, women and children.

We tolerate a system that sacrifices human values to money values. Not all the "good publicity" in the world can disguise the fact that we still allow private profit to silence our machines and put millions of men out of work. It is not the kind of prospect that appeals to other peoples.

We have become a militaristic power. The United States not only is the only nation to have used nuclear weapons in war, but it has exploded more test weapons than any other nation. As part of its "defense" posture, it supports men and regimes who are undemocratic, to say the least. It will not be lost on the world that the French planes that bombed a Tunisian village were made in the United States.

There are, of course, things to be said on the other side. (There are also more that could be added to the list.) The important point is that these charges are true, that they are profoundly important to the well-being of the world, and that they present us with an acute moral problem which a recital of the evils of other systems will not resolve.

REGULATION X

No one can say that the government is not prepared for all eventualities. Employees of the State Department recently received instructions on what to do after a nuclear attack on the United States.

What they are to do is to fill out a form,

* From *Prescription for Survival,* Columbia University Press, 1957.

take it to the nearest post office, where the postmaster will "see that it is forwarded" to the Civil Service Commission, which will notify the State Department at whatever emergency location it has settled. "This card," explains the instructions, "will also enable the department to keep you on the roster of active employees, and enable it to forward your pay."

Department employees are reported to be fascinated by this paragraph:

"You should obtain and complete the registration card as soon after enemy attack as possible but not until you are reasonably sure where you will be staying for a few days. If you change your address after you have sent in a card, get a new one and send it in."

NO MAN'S LAND

On February 19 the French cabinet announced a decision to create a "no-man's land" strip along the border between Tunisia and Algeria, to try again to stop the steady flow of arms from Tunisia to the Algerian rebels, a task that the recently established Morice line of electrified barbed wire failed to accomplish.

So the French demonstrate again the utter callousness toward human rights and suffering that distinguishes even democratic governments at war. The "strip" will be 200 miles long and about 15 miles wide. To create this barren buffer zone, where "planes . . . would feel free to fire on any sign of movement," French officials estimate that they must *evacuate and resettle between 70,000 and 80,000 persons!*

That France thus drives another nail into the casket of its own cause is relatively unimportant. France can never win more than an empty victory at best in Algeria—the tide had turned against imperialism, and it will not recede. What *is* important is the arrogant indifference with which tens of thousands of men, women and children are uprooted and transferred to wherever a handful of men in Paris may dictate.

The French are not particularly to blame. Our government was as cruel, with less provocation, in the evacuation of the Japanese-Americans from the West Coast fifteen years ago. It is war that makes men do these demonic things—war and the system that feeds on war.

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

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The Indefensible Cost of Defense

BY SID LENS

THE REACTION TO Russia's launching of Sputnik by official quarters is that we ust "increase our defense spending." Even breathtaking a venture as launching a n-made moon is viewed not as a posi- e scientific achievement which will make ssible an immeasurably higher living ndard at some future date, but as pri- rily a military matter. The military is w told to increase its research expendi- e by $100 million, and the great corpo- ions as well as many liberal Democrats intensifying their propaganda for build- more planes, tanks, guns . . . and satel- es.

The tragedy is that we continue to spend re and more for defense, but we remain t as insecure as we were before.

The cost of defense this year, just like year and the year before and the year ore that, hovers around the $40 billion rk—about 9 or 10 percent of what the ion produces in goods and services. Be- e the war it was a mere one or two per- t—piddling sums of $700 million to $1 lion. Today we completely encircle the iet Union with military bases. A million l a quarter of our troops are in 73 coun- s and 950 military installations on every tinent of the globe. The dollar invest- nt of our Military Establishment—con- vatively estimated—is $124 billion, or -third more than that of all the farm d in the nation. The 30 million acres of d it owns is larger than that of any of 16 smallest states. Its annual spending lmost four times as large as all the sales of the largest manufacturing corporation, General Motors. Its investment is five times as large as the whole national product of a country of 370 million, India. Its specialists are training over 200 foreign divisions in 60 foreign lands—the greatest training organization in the world.

To defray the taxes for our astronomical defense budget you and I will be working a full 35 days this year—without benefit of paycheck. With the same sums our nation could provide two million $20,000 mortgage-free homes to slum-harassed citizens. Or it could raise the living standards of two billion people in underdeveloped countries by 4 percent.

Peace Through Mutual Fright

The argument for spending such sums on military items rather than on housing or on raising world living standards is that it "will make us strong." In the words of C. Wright Mills it is supposed to bring us peace through "mutual fright."

But in the decade that this policy has been followed, the Soviets consolidated hegemony over China, Northern Viet-Nam, Czechoslovakia, Northern Korea, and, of late, Hungary. They lost not a single bastion, but they gained influence and power in many sectors where formerly they were ciphers.

Those thinkers who are intoxicated with power attribute our foreign policy failures to the fact that we do not yet have *enough* planes, *enough* air bases, or *enough* secret

weapons such as the intercontinental ballistics missile. They seem to think there is a final point at which our industrial genius will give us invincible and permanent superiority.

But this, of course, is an unfulfillable dream. Col. William H. Neblett, a former president of the Reserve Officers Association, writes: "An invincible army is a thing of the past. The A- and H-Bombs have proved that to all except the regular officers of professional military organizations. Only the Regulars remain unconvinced. . . . Until there is a change from military to civilian control of the governments of the free and Communist worlds, there seems to be little, if any, hope for an understanding between us and Russia. Neither our government nor the Russian government has a plan for peace." The Colonel is evidently unimpressed by the theory of fright.

Aping the Enemy

Assuming, however, that he is wrong and that we can attain invincible and permanent military dominance, there is always the danger that we are paying far too high a price for the counter-power we are building to Russian power. There is the danger that we are subverting our own way of life while proposing to defend it. Societies have a nasty habit of succumbing to the evil which they are presumably fighting. Thus Soviet society, recoiling from the "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie," has fashioned a dictatorship of its own which would make the most tyrannical bourgeois blanch with envy. And Japanese society, after the 1868 Meiji Restoration, recoiled so forcefully from the militarism and imperialism of western nations as personified for it by Commodore Perry's guns, that it became the full-scale model of a Garrison State.

In the past decade we happy-go-lucky, prosperous Americans, heedless of the advice of our forefathers, have naïvely assumed that *our* military power was different. Our military power was one-sided, directed only outward—not inward. Our military might would change the world relationship of forces, it would change our own government and institutions not one iota. With our democratic tradition w could never succumb to a Garrison State

But what is the *full* nature of our mili tary power? Assuming, with Niebuhr an his well-meaning friends, that it does de fend us from external enemies; assumin with most liberals that it is necessary an inexorable; how has a decade of militar growth affected our internal way of life?

The Price We Pay

We are, it seems to me, at midpoint be tween a civilian-controlled and a militar controlled society; between a society whic is run from the bottom upwards, and on run from the top down. Military powe expected to frighten the Russians externa ly, is changing our way of life internall to a militarist way of life rather than democratic one. We are still distant fro a militarist or Garrison State, but neithe are we the democracy we were a few de ades ago. Our institutions have not ye been transformed appreciably, but ou *people* are in the process of great tran formation. It could hardly be otherwis Forty-billion-dollar budgets, spread throug the economy, and a leadership in Congre and the Executive so dependent on th military, must change the nation in th military image. Slowly but inexorably, i every area of American life, militarism edging civilianism out of the picture; a thoritarian moods are replacing maveri ones. The signs are everywhere:

1) Our youth, the backbone of nation change, has been shackled into confor ism.

2) Our civil servants and career me similarly show the effects of conformism.

3) Our colleges and scientists are i creasingly subordinated to military "pra ticality," and losing contact with pure, a stract science.

4) Our press, our book publishers, o radio and television—in a word, our cu ture is losing whatever rebellious qualiti it had, becoming dull, lifeless, formula cu ture.

5) Our nation and our people are b coming egocentric in their attitudes other nations and other peoples.

All of these are abstract ailments. Th

part of a long-term process and there-
re do not inspire the same kind of fear
an individual, immediate, momentary
nger such as a railroad train descending
a stalled automobile. But it is precisely
ch changes in basic character that signal
breakdown of a society. As Toynbee has
ted, the motor force for progress is a
reative minority"; once you straitjacket
it minority and destroy its creativity,
iety languishes and disintegrates. The
terial strength of America at this junc-
re is not a barometer of its basic health,
many civilizations begin their fatal de-
nt precisely at the
oment of greatest
wer. It was so with
me; it was so with
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This is precisely the
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iting with govern-
nt, uniting with
reign policy, unit-
g with science and
lture, in such a way
at it places its au-
oritarian imprint on all.

"An army," writes Brig. General C. T.
nham, "by its very structure is the anti-
esis of everything held dear by a demo-
tic community. It is authoritarian. Nor
n it compromise with that principle if
is to survive on the field of battle. Its
ders are necessarily vested with great
wer and are therefore constantly subject
the corroding and corrupting influences
at attend personal power. Its men, in
eir own interest and in the national in-
rest, must acquire the habit of obedience
suffer for it, a process unfavorably
own as regimentation."
This regimentation is evident every-
here. Young men in particular are today
der the greatest pressure to be conform-
. Every boy inducted into the services is subjected to investigation as to his maverick associations prior to service. If he joined something as innocuous as the NAACP or the American Civil Liberties Union he can be, and frequently is, called to task. If he were a Socialist, a Trotskyist or a Communist on campus, the penalties are greater. He can be denied induction, in which case a stigma hangs over his head when he applies for work. Or he can be refused an honorable discharge after he completes military service, in which case he may lose his benefits under the GI Bill of Rights and may find it difficult to find employment. One such young man told the Fund for the Republic that he had been ousted from seven jobs because he had been denied his honorable discharge.

After he leaves the army, a young man must still conform because he remains in the reserves for a period of years. In the whole formative period of his life he is effectively held back by the military from becoming a maverick. The army itself is well aware of this. "We have these young men," says Major General F. O. Bowman, "while they are young and fresh. Their minds have not been cluttered up by worldliness. They make wonderful subjects for army training." The army sees to it that they remain uncluttered by "worldliness" before, during and after the time they leave the armed forces.

The Road to Conformism

Beyond the youth, every segment of society is under pressure to conform. This is the military way, the way of obedience rather than independent probing. The whole loyalty program has no other meaning or purpose but to establish a mental attitude of obedience, of thought control. A nation nowadays fights with more than

guns and planes, it fights with its civil service, its industry—everything. And if it is to keep ready for battle, it must have behind it a people conditioned to obey. The loyalty program does this with the civil service and the diplomatic corps. Contrary to what many liberals believe, this program is not a momentary aberration but a prime essential of military preparedness. Even mccarthyism, viewed in this light, was no "freak." It was merely an excess, a disorganized method of achieving what the army tries to achieve in quieter and more effective ways. If the army and McCarthy quarreled, it was certainly not over objectives, but over methods. Now that McCarthy is dead, the more insidious forms of thought control and conformity continue to infect the nation. The big $124-billion Military Establishment (estimated by some to be as high as $200 billion) has the internal necessity of stemming dissent, changing us from a civilian-oriented society to a military-oriented one.

The Growth of U. S. Militarism

Our forefathers were always fearful that the army would inject itself into civilian matters, just as in so many Latin-American countries today. They therefore curbed the military, placing it under civilian control and banning all propaganda, lobbying and political activity on its part. But that ban almost imperceptibly has been broken: the military is now the most important propaganda, lobbying, political and industrial force in the country. It violates the strictures of the founding fathers with impunity.

When the compulsory reserve law was passed a few years ago, the army admitted that it had initiated "a nationwide public information program. . . . The magnitude of the program . . . is without parallel for any activity previously undertaken by the Army during peacetime." Its primary objective was to inform the youth, but it also spent large sums propagandizing the "more mature segments of the population who are youth's natural advisers, *viz.*, parents, educators, employers." Three hundred and seventy national organizations, including the Chamber of Commerce, the American Legion and "major segments of the government" were solicited. Three hundred and fifty-one mayors of the principal cities were contacted. The campaign served to promote at least 591 articles and editorials in the press, the vast majority favorable. It resulted in the American Legion printing 600,000 copies of a brochure, "You and the Army Reserve," for dissemination in high schools. Army publicists descended on all the teachers' conventions to which an invitation could be arranged. The Boy Scouts were prevailed on to distribute fact sheets and listen to speakers on the subject. Leading press, radio and TV observers were rounded up to witness the training of youngsters 17 to 18½ years of age.

The Pentagon's Hard Sell

The Pentagon pressroom, equipped with 40 telephones, operates 24 hours a day, maintains regular relations with 500 to 1000 pressmen from every state and place, more items in the press and television than any other agency of government, except Congress. It provides between 10,000 and 19,000 free photographic prints a month to these organs of communication, helps motion picture companies make movies thus securing millions of dollars worth of free publicity, and receives tens of millions worth of free radio and TV time. Senator Byrd reported in 1951 that the Department of Defense that year was employing 3,022 persons in advertising, publicity and public relations, at a cost of more than $10 million. In one year the *Saturday Evening Post* carried 57 articles on military subjects, so great is the impact of the Pentagon on our means of information.

This too is power. But it is power directed not at the Russians, but against democratic civilianism; power directed at changing attitudes from the bottom up and from the top down; power directed at creating conformity rather than creativity.

The tentacles of the military and militarism go deeper, far deeper. According to Secretary of Air Thomas Finletter "The Air Force [not including the Army and Navy, incidentally] is the biggest business in the world today and has more

ailable to it many times the aggregate the biggest of the great American corpo-ions. The value of our plant facilities, ch as bases and depots and equipment hand and on order, exceeds the 1950 al compiled assets of General Motors, andard Oil of New Jersey, United States eel, and American Telephone and Tele-aph combined."

The Pentagon is industry's biggest cus-mer. In 1953 it bought over 20 percent all the output of all our manufacturing, ning, transport and communications in-stries combined.

The corporations are ot only chary of offend-g the military, but they e increasingly adding ilitary men to their top helons because they have d ties with the Pentagon ocurement officials from om large contracts are cured. After a general tires he is eagerly scoop-up by big business. eneral MacArthur is now th Remington Rand, eneral Lucius Clay with ntinental Can, General ehon Somervell with ppers Company, Gener-Joseph McNarney with nsolidated Vultee, Ad-ral Ben Moreel with nes and Laughlin, Gen-al E. P. Queseda with io Industries, General Marshall with n-American Airways, General Bradley th Bulova Research and Development rporation, General Walter Bedell Smith th American Machine and Foundry, eneral Ridgway with Mellon Research, lmiral Robert Carney with Westinghouse, mention only a few.

Through such men and through the de-ndence of industry on the military, a litarist influence enters the factory sys-n and even the labor movement. Work-are screened for loyalty and must be reful not to belong to any suspect groups pain of losing their jobs. The FBI has neycombed the whole factory system and or movement with innumerable inform-. How many such unpaid agents it has no one except the FBI itself knows. But from bits of information gleaned here and there, one private estimate is that it tries to secure one such informant for every 100 or 200 workers in large factories—unpaid allies of the FBI who are solicited on the basis of patriotism, but whose actual role is to contribute to the general conformity. I know of at least one union at this moment where government pressure has resulted in a trusteeship being placed over a local union and its legitimate leaders thereby deprived of their posts.

The colleges too are falling into this great military maw, increasingly dependent on military largesse to operate. According to a report of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the main fund for research both for universities and private industries is now the government, and 84 percent of government research is spent on military research. The largest portion of this sum is spent on practical rather than pure research. Anything which doesn't bring immediate results for the Military Establishment is considered a stepchild. According to the Association, we are emphasizing the physical as against the social sciences, and we are slanting scientific knowledge to fit military rather than public needs. Thus, when the National Academy of Sciences last year made a study of atomic radiation, the military used favorable portions of the report for propaganda purposes, to play down the danger, while ignoring the rest, much of it unfavorable. The scientists themselves could do little about this because, in the interests of "military expediency," they were sworn to secrecy. The free climate that is supposed to prevail in science is being changed to an authoritarian one. The scientists themselves are harassed by loyalty probes and by the fear that membership in any suspect organization will deprive them of work.

Detour for the American Way

A large military establishment requires a basic change in our society. Everyone of consequence—except for some misguided liberals—understands this.

General Omar Bradley points out that "Nations, not armies, go to war. In preparing for a lifetime of service, our professionally trained military graduates must train not only for leadership in battle, but also to provide leadership for the Nation in adapting the resources of science and education to our national needs." The military here is not being asked to submit to the civilian—the long American tradition—but on the contrary to train the forces that will guide civilian work. "Nations, not armies, go to war," and if you are preparing war monsters to frighten the Russians, you need military men or their allies to run the nation. In the Eisenhower administration civilian power is not limited to the one general who serves as President. General Lucius Clay is reported to have chosen the key cabinet member, Secretary of Treasury George Humphrey. The ex-budget director, Joseph M. Dodge, was Clay's financial adviser. General Walter Bedell Smith has flitted into one key post after another. Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, ex-Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, was formerly head of the Women's Army Corps. The men of business who are in key posts, such as Charles E. Wilson of General Motors, are linked to the military through their industrial connections. All of them fit snugly the military mood of the times; they are all the products of an overpowering Military Establishment and they serve to enhance it.

Fear, obedience, exaggerated pride in the nation—these are the effects of militarism. The United States, of course, has much to be proud of, but it also has reason for humility. We increasingly hear the plaint "why give those foreigners any of our money?" Our citizens do not think of these gifts as something that helped us also. They think of them solely in egotistical terms. Yet without Marshall Plan and other aid, American industry would have suffered recessions because European countries could not buy our goods. Our tourists are bitter when a foreign nation holds us up ten minutes to inspect baggage, or when the Russians refuse to give us visas to visit their country. But we are silent when foreigners must wait humiliating months to get visas for our country, and must submit to the indignity of fingerprinting. In our own minds we are rapidly becoming the "chosen people," losing the very Christian humility we swear by. This too is part of the militarization of America.

Brutality Is the Goal

Equally pernicious, we are attempting to change our own decent instincts, to remold our people from warm-hearted sensitive citizens to potential killers. The Army found, to its great surprise, that in World War II only 12 to 25 percent of all combat soldiers actually did any shooting. The rest just refused to pull the trigger. Americans just weren't made to be killers and they reflected this attitude on the battlefield. In Korea the average was raised considerably, but it still never exceeded 50 per cent.

General S. L. A. Marshall, an Army specialist assigned to study this problem, indicates how close we come to the Soviet mentality when we try to frighten them. He is envious of the fact that "the Red soldiers have been reared with far fewer inhibitions against killing. . . . Now, I don't believe this means they get 100 percent of their men to fire. I don't believe such perfection (sic) is possible in any army. In fact, I feel, that if we get our own number of firers up to 75 percent, that is the best we possibly can expect. . . . Our only chance to move forward is to remold the *human* material."

A fine goal for a democratic America—remold its human material so that at least 75 percent of its young soldiers can be killers!

President Wilson, speaking of war and the military approach, once said:

> "To fight you must be brutal and ruthless and the spirit of ruthless brutality will enter into every fibre of our national life, infecting Congress, the courts, the policemen on the beat, the man on the street. Conformity would be the only virtue and every man who refused to conform would have to pay the penalty."

Wilson was eminently correct. Up to
w, America has always been wise enough,
ce a war was over, to dismantle its mili-
ry establishment and reduce the influ-
ce of the generals. Now for the first time
e military predominates in peacetime as
war. We are becoming—though we are
ll far from—a Garrison State. We're suc-
mbing to the same thought control, the
me conformism, the same evil virtues
hich we sneered at in the prewar Japa-
se. The power that we propose to use
frighten Russia is power that we are
so using against ourselves. So far, the
ange is taking place pri-
arily in our citizenry; our
mocratic institutions are
oderately intact. But if
e trend continues, the
stitutions will inevitably
tch up. At that point we
ill have become a Garri-
n State.

What then is the choice?
ow can we avoid the Gar-
son State?

The answer of course lies
the realm of foreign
olicy. The assumption
at military power will
ighten the Russians is
lse. The whole history
military preparedness,
fore World War I, be-
re World War II, and
day, is that it leads to
othing but more pre-
redness and war itself.
never brings peace. It never brings
ch an absolute superiority in weapons
at it frightens other nations into peace.
What we need is a *social* policy, a policy
stimulating social change, higher living
ndards, freedom and democracy, both
home and abroad. Even from a military
ewpoint alone it is evident that we can-
t win this insane race in armaments. We
n never achieve such overwhelming superiority as will make the Russians cringe with terror. Perhaps we can gain momentary advantage, but it must be obvious after the two sputniks that it can never be an *absolute* advantage. If we are to check Soviet advance, if we are to stop evil on both sides of the Iron Curtain, incidentally—it can only be through a social and moral policy that elevates the human being. We have been losing friends all over the world because we have adopted a militaristic foreign policy. We can win them back only if we adopt an idealistic social policy for stimulating industrialization, democracy and higher living standards.

Civilians of note all over America have been clamoring for such reorientation for years—James P. Warburg, Justice Douglas, John Nuveen, Chester Bowles, George Kennan. So have thousands of Gandhians and Socialists who see militarism for what it is, the most vile evil ever perpetrated on humanity. For it is only the truly free nations (which most of our "free" world is *not*) that can be our allies. It is only our own real growth in democracy (as opposed to militarization) which can attract freedom-loving people on both sides of the Iron Curtain to the cause of social progress. We cannot buy allies—as our post-war history has proven. And we cannot frighten nations—not even small ones like Egypt. Our military program has been an abysmal failure externally: it has failed to stop the advance of Communism and anti-Americanism. It has been an even worse failure internally, for it has been remolding America in the authoritarian image we were supposed to be fighting.

The Madness of Nationalism

What have you done to eliminate the madness of nationalism and particularly the sense of superiority of nationalism in America? What have you done as Christian men to convert Communists to Christ? What have you done about communism more than just hating it?

—Charles T. Leber, at a convention of Presbyterian Men, in New York City, February 15, 1958.

FALLOU
AND
THE FACT

BY CHET HOLIFIELD

OUR WORLD is radioactive. Man himself is radioactive. The air we breathe, the water we drink and the food we eat contain minute bits of radioactivity.

The United States has a far-flung system for sampling air and soil and rainwater for their radioactive content. We have measured bomb particles from Russian and American test explosions wherever we have looked—in the frozen wastes of the North, in the Wisconsin dairylands, in the citrus groves of California and Florida, in the corn belt of the Midwest. The radioactive debris has even been identified in the Antarctic snows. No place where men dwell escapes the fallout from nuclear bomb explosions. Man is changing his environment in a radically new manner.

On March 1, 1954, the United States exploded the most powerful nuclear weapon in its testing program up to that time. This was the explosion which contaminated 7,000 square miles of surrounding territory. In fact, today, some uninhabited parts of the Marshall Islands, 100 miles from the test site, are still so radioactive that they are above the permissible level for normal land use.

This smoldering radioactivity in the Marshall Islands is due to the split atoms of uranium which stick to the trees, vegetation, and soil. This residual radioactivity is a grim forewarning of what could happen to an entire continent if attacked with such "dirty" nuclear weapons.

Not all the split atoms of uranium fell out on the Marshall islands area. Som were tossed high into the heavens, ridi the mushroom cloud which pushed its hea into the gloom of the stratosphere. Th seething cloud, as it reached the upper a soon became strewn out into tiny invisib fragments. High altitude winds buffet and blew them around the world as th descended from the stratosphere.

The great bulk of the split atoms uranium which fall out here and there the globe burn themselves out by the ti they reach the earth's surface. The burned-out fragments are of no cons quence to anyone. They are dead ashes atomic fires.

Long-Burning Strontium-90

Not all atom fragments burn out quickly. What concerns us are the li ashes of atomic fires. An exploding nucle bomb breaks matter into possibly 200 di tinct species of atomic fragments fro about 3 dozen chemical elements. One these elements is strontium-90.

Chemically, strontium is very much li calcium, the chalky white substance th is familiar to everyone. Strontium-90 radioactive strontium, the particular spec of strontium that is formed when uraniu atoms are blown apart.

The radioactivity of strontium-90 is d sipated by 50 percent every 28 years. The in lies part of the danger, for if this radi active material enters the human body a

ys in it, the hazard to humans obviously
long-term hazard.

Expert scientists who testified before the committee of the Joint Committee on mic Energy which investigated the scific aspects of fallout have reached conerable agreement on many problems inving strontium fallout. This agreement in the area of the physical sciences—nuclear physics, earth science, meteorolo- physics and chemistry. Strontium-90 is luded in the three phases of the world-le fallout problem which I divide up as lows:

1) *Physical aspects of global fallout.* is involves introduction of bomb debris, ection into the atmosphere, stratospheric nsport, leakage from the upper air and position on the rth's surface.

2) *Contamination of od and uptake by n.* This involves absorption of ra- active particles by nts and animals, try into man's food pply, and uptake d retention by hu- n beings.

3) *Evaluation of the ological effects.* This volves present and ure concentrations strontium in man, the maximum per- ssible concentration, variations from average concentration, and probable ological effects of low-level radiation.

Problem for Citizens

These three categories are scientific and hnical. They point quickly, however, to oblems which are not scientific or tech- al. Whether this nation should add re bomb debris to the atmosphere re- ires an evaluation of risk which goes be- nd the competence of the scientist or en of the government official. In a de- cracy it goes down to the level of the dividual. It is something which must be bated fully once the basic scientific and hnical data allow such debate to be in- med. I believe that our subcommittee arings when printed will enable the public to at least see the dimensions of the risk.*

We know that once bomb debris is injected into the stratosphere, the strontium-90 particles circulate around the world many times before coming down. We do not know exactly how long this circulation goes on before the strontium comes down, but it appears that it takes about five years for half of the strontium to descend from the upper air. Once it does, it is quickly swept down to earth with rain, snow or fog.

This means that wherever precipitation occurs (which is where man gathers to seek his food supply), strontium fallout occurs. The most recent data supplied to my Subcommittee by the United States Weather Bureau experts show that the fallout around the globe is not uniform. More fallout occurs in the North Temperate Zone than in the Southern Hemisphere.

This is one of the most important facts developed in the hearings. Heretofore the Atomic Energy Commission dealt in global averages which seemed to minimize the danger. These statistical averages afford no comfort to the populations exposed to the heavier incidence of fallout.

Strontium is finding its way into many channels of man's food supply. The Japanese have measured the strontium-90 content of their rice. We keep a constant check on the strontium-90 level of our milk. This substance gains entry into plant and animal life because it acts as a chemical companion to calcium. If the plant needs calcium it also takes up strontium. Studies made by the Department of Agriculture are still under way, but they show that most plants take up strontium blindly and do not discriminate against it.

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* The hearings, in two volumes, are now available. Also available is a printed "summary and analysis" of the hearings, a pamphlet of a few pages in non-technical language. Both are published by the Government Printing Office, for the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Once locked in plants, the strontium is on its way into the food supply. Dairy cattle, grazing in Wisconsin or in the New York milk shed, for example, take in the strontium that happens to be in the grass or feed. Fortunately, only a fraction of this strontium finds its way into the cow's milk. Due to the cow's physiological mechanism, much of the strontium is blocked out of the milk. This built-in block against strontium is most fortunate for our children since they derive so much of their needed calcium from dairy products. It reduces, but does not eliminate, the uptake of strontium-90.

What happens to the strontium-90 once it gets inside people? It behaves like calcium and is absorbed in living bone. Every person on this planet now probably contains a measurable amount of strontium-90 in his or her skeleton. Prior to the advent of atomic energy no such contaminant existed. Thus strontium-90 is a brand-new additive to our internal environment.

Margin of Error Unknown

Since not all the strontium from bomb tests to date has fallen out, and since not all that which has fallen has found its way into the human food supply, we have only a fraction of the amount of strontium which we will have at some time in the future. And we must constantly keep in mind the fact that more bombs are being tested with each passing day.

The world has witnessed almost 120 bomb tests so far. That's almost one for every month since World War II. And a single bomb test today can be the equal of a thousand Hiroshima-class bombs.

It is against this background that we must view the problem of evaluating the radiation risk from strontium in humans.

My Subcommittee heard a great deal of testimony from eminent scientists on the probable biological damage to be expected from various amounts of internally deposited radioactive substances. But after listening to many experts disagree on this subject, I arrived at the conclusion that we need much more scientific knowledge before we can really be sure of the ultimate effects of a certain amount of strontium-90.

As a layman I was somewhat shocked to find out how much the experts admit they did not know about the long-term effects of radiation. In fact, when I thought over how little is known for sure, I wondered how some officials of the government could be so positive that bomb tests were so safe.

The seeming optimism and complacency of government officials is by no means shared by our citizens.

Laboratory experiments with various radiation doses are being conducted on fruit flies, mice, dogs and monkeys. It is of course not practical to experiment on human beings and the human life span is too long to furnish us the knowledge we need *now* to extrapolate the effects of radiation on insects and short life-span mammals, and consider these effects as they would apply to human beings.

The element of error in this extrapolation is admitted by all scientists. It is also admitted that the degree of error cannot be accurately estimated. All agree, however, that any radiation causes mutation of the genes and substantial radiation can kill the germ cells of life or cause abnormalities which are transmitted to future generations. Of course, there are millions of genes in each human being and the probability of adverse genetic effect upon the specific sperm which fertilizes a particular ovum must be calculated in relation to the number of mutated genes as compared to the number of normal genes.

What Is the "Worry Limit"?

What we really need are some standards against which we can measure whether or not a given amount of strontium will be harmful. We need some "worry limits" or amounts of strontium-90 which if exceeded would cause profound worry about the eventual consequences of the radiation effects. Then we need to use some sort of yardstick to relate how close we are to the worry limit.

Experts differ on what the worry limit should be, but it is interesting to note that they do not disagree too much. Dr. Shields Warren, former Director of Biology and Medicine for the AEC, testified that he "would be reluctant to see the average strontium-90 content of bones, parti-

y in children, go much above ten times present level." Other witnesses seemed agree with this worry limit.

Ve must realize that the strontium-90 tent of children's bones will increase en more strontium falls out and finds way into the food supply. This means t we are considerably less than ten times ay from the safe limit. We may be only ee or five times from the worry limit. seems to me that this is what worries the ntists in this country and in other lands. e Atomic Energy Commission has con- ually given out assurances that we have hing to worry about and yet we find, ng testimony from their own experts, t there is reason to worry.

After hearing a num- of experts discuss lioactive fallout, my bcommittee convened se experts in a round- le discussion. We n found that these perts agreed, within its, upon the amount bomb testing which e could do safely in given year. They eed that somewhere tween two and ten gatons of split atoms uld be injected into the stratosphere each r without undue biological risk on a bal basis. This means that the total losiveness from uranium bombs should t exceed two to ten million tons of TNT uivalent per year. I speak of fission ld only.

The March 1, 1954 bomb referred to lier approximated the 10 megaton upper it just mentioned. It is possible to fab- ate a single bomb with five times this losiveness. This means that unless some ment of control is introduced into the ting of nuclear weapons, it is possible a single bomb test to overshoot the ry limit.

t is true that new types of bombs have en developed which are not "all dirty." t it is equally true that no "all clean" mb has been developed. Every nuclear apon exploded adds a measurable ount of radioactivity to the earth's at- sphere.

Scientific judgment that the amount of radioactive material injected into the stratosphere should not exceed 10 megatons a year—the upper limit in a range of values offered by different scientists—was another important point developed in our hearings. Significantly, this information came from lower-echelon scientists connected with the Atomic Energy Commission. The question arises, what value is the Commission using in its official safety standard?

The Congress and the public have not been told this important information. I recall that Secretary of State Dulles announced this spring that the United States bomb tests would involve only a small fraction of what was considered a dangerous level. But what fraction? And what was the harmful level? These facts were not revealed.

Suppose the safe annual limit is 10 megatons. It may be more or it may be less—I do not know—but the scientists set a ceiling of 10. Why should the official government agency charged with full responsibility in the atomic energy field keep the American people in the dark? If we could bring out the facts in our Congressional hearings, certainly the facts are not classified. At the very least the Atomic Energy Commission could demonstrate its awareness of the hazard and the need for safety by telling the public more plainly how much effort is going into the measurement and evaluation of atmospheric contamination.

Official Optimism Outdated

The Administration line on the strontium hazard would almost persuade one that, like dishwashing with a certain detergent, "it is 'almost' nice." The study project on the fallout incidence of this bone-seeking, cancer-producing substance is called *Project Sunshine,* truly a cheerful name for such a deadly agent, as if it were a tranquilizer. But the people of the

world do not look upon a global poison as a tonic. Although the present quantity may be small, they are concerned with any increase.

The official optimism is based in part upon a report of the National Academy of Sciences. The data from this report are now more than 18 months old. The report ought to be revised, but Dr. Shields Warren, Chairman of the Pathology Committee of the National Academy, stated before my Subcommittee that no new report will be made in the near future.

It is well to recall that Dr. Warren Weaver of the Rockefeller Foundation testified before the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee earlier this year: "The British group, on the whole, did a more detailed piece of research on the strontium-90 than we did." I would like to state that the British came up with a less optimistic report on strontium-90 than we did. I suggest that our National Academy of Sciences re-examine the strontium-90 problem and put at least as much effort on the job as the British did. The new look should include some new scientific faces, too, so that the public can be assured that AEC scientists do not dominate it. The public, rightly or wrongly, would have more confidence in a report with a wider base of personnel.

Who Evaluates the Risk?

Is it prudent to ask the same agency both to develop bombs and to evaluate the risks of fallout? Would one ask General Motors to evaluate the feasibility of limiting the number of motor cars to be produced each year?

Have any eminent scientists discussed the strontium-90 problem with the President? I have no information to lead me to believe the President really understands this particular hazard.

We are now dealing with a global health problem. We must take steps to face up to this new problem and we must educate the public to the many fact-finding prospects on radiation. The world should know that the AEC is sponsoring more than 50 important research programs in this field of radiation alone. We should get the facts out in plain language as fast as they are discovered. We should publish official AE bulletins often and disseminate them wi ly for public information. The Soviets a outmaneuvering us in this radiation fie and are misleading millions of uninform or misinformed people. We are failing use our information and thereby losi leadership by default.

In the summer of 1955 we had an "Ato for Peace" meeting in Geneva. I urge th an equally important conference of int national scientists be convened for t evaluation of the radiation risks attendi nuclear detonations and the peacetime a plications of nuclear power. Bomb testi is not the only radiation hazard.

We stand on the threshold of an era nuclear power. This new power source, it is to play any significant role in filli the energy needs of the world, will unlea amounts of radioactivity even more st gering than those involved in nucle weaponry. It makes no difference wheth the split uranium atom is born inside bomb or in a nuclear power reactor. If is uncontrolled and enters man's envir ment, it forms the same ultimate hazard

That is why I urge that the nations the world get together and allow th most expert scientists to discuss these h ards freely and openly. We have urge need for a set of standards for radiati risks which take account of the glo nature of fallout and the awesome prop tions of a future nuclear power indust Just as the scientists sat around the ta at our Subcommittee hearings to thresh problems and establish facts, so we nee world round-table of scientists to ass this common danger to mankind.

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION ——►

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

Prospective subscribers, who formerly received three monthly issues of the old **Fellowship**, now receive instead four months (8 issues) of our Peace Information Edition only. We cordially invite you to send us the names of your friends for our prospect list of people who are becoming acquainted with **Fellowship** in this way.

Fellowship
PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

MARCH 1, 1958
VOL. 24 NO. 5

DISARMAMENT -- NOT AROUND THE CORNER

Disarmament, long an unclean word, has begun to take on new respectability a subject for conversation. Even in Congress a man need not feel that he is mmitting political suicide by mentioning the desirability of disarmament; Senator mphrey spent four hours on February 4 talking about the possibilities of a ositive approach" to world problems, including negotiating an end to nuclear sting with the Russians.

Yet if disarmament can be discussed in shington without looking over one's oulder, it is partly because it is most unely to be any more than a matter for dission in the foreseeable future. As Secrey of State Dulles said in a broadcast last ly, "We do not of course use that word sarmament) in any literal sense. No one thinking of disarming the United States the Soviet Union or any other nation."

There are any number of reasons, even the face of the dreadful threat posed by arms race, why this should be so.

For one thing, the nation is in no sense pared for the economic readjustment that armament would bring. January saw 4½ llion unemployed in the United States, h some labor spokemen charging that the ure actually is a million higher. Many of leaders of affected areas blame "defense backs" for the recession, and a formida number of spokesmen for government d business look to increased military ending to end the slump. Withdrawing the ole vast war budget from the economy, hout replacing it with a substitute, would ng economic disaster, but few Americans prepared to think seriously of the logi substitute—the spending of equivalent ns on a world development program.

A second point is that the United States d its allies count on nuclear weapons to set the tremendous Soviet advantage in npower and conventional weapons. The vs that the American "Sergeant" missile, h a range of up to 200 miles, is "invulable" to Soviet defense measures, points the reason for the frigid reception to the idea of "denuclearizing" central Europe.

Finally, American military power, while it confronts us with the danger of nuclear war, is also the shield behind which this country consumes a wholly disproportionate share of the world's good things. Remove the shield, and it is impossible to believe that the rest of the world would be content

(Continued on next page)

Age of Technology

"This is the prospect we face: the decision to destroy an enemy nation--and by inference our own--will be made by a radar set, a telephone circuit, an electronic computer. It will be arrived at without the aid of human intelligence. If a human observer cries: 'Stop, let me check the calculations,' he is already too late, his launching site is destroyed and the war is lost...

"This evolution from the push button era to the automatic push button era is inevitable. And when that day comes all of the 'human' considerations which might stay the hand of a warmonger will mean nothing... If the answer is not found in a very few years, there will be no need for the answer, because all that is left of humanity will be starting again the long climb from the stone age."

--Dr. W. H. Pickering, Head of Jet Propulsion Laboratory, California Institute of Technology, in *New York Herald Tribune*, Jan. 22, 1958.

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

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FELLOWSHIP is published twice monthly. Re-entered as second-class matter January 1, 1958 at the Post Office at Nyack, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

Disarmament *(cont'd)*

with the continuation of such a disparity.

Disarmament would be practical politics if the United States were committed to the idea of a world in which all peoples would share both the good things and the hard of earth, and were prepared to make some sacrifices of prestige and possessions to achieve it. Short of such a commitment, disarmament is only one of the horns of a daily more uncomfortable dilemma.

The Colonel And the Bombing

Everything about the French bombing of the Tunisian village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef was horrifying, of course. War generally is, especially when it is fought with planes and bombs against defenseless villagers. Two aspects of it, however, bear comment, if only because they have been so widely ignored in the press.

The first is the capacity for righteous indignation Americans are still able to exhibit when the culprit is somebody else. From the concern expressed over the fate of fewer than a hundred unfortunate Tunisians one would hardly believe that this is the same nation whose fliers dropped jellied gasoline bombs on Korean villages.

The second is the fact, reported by C.L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times,* that the decision to bomb Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef was not made by the French government or high command, but by an obscure and as yet unnamed colonel, greatly to his superiors' embarrassment and displeasure.

The event brings into sharp focus something that of itself invalidates the whole idea of peace by deterrence: the fact th the power of decision increasingly will put into the hands of relatively obscu individuals of uncertain judgment a stability.

When a whole war may be fought and lo in the space of a few hours, the decisi on whether or not to launch the missiles "instant retaliation" must be made i stantly. Thus all over the world not t President or Congress, but anonymo colonels, or even captains or lieutenant are becoming the individual repositories the fate of the world. And what is true our military is true of all the others.

The pitiful row of corpses in a wreck Tunisian village is an ominous warning what can lie ahead unless the world ba ishes war completely.

Bosley, Crane to Speak at FOR National Conferences

Two of the country's best-kno preachers will speak at two of the thr "national conferences" scheduled the FOR for this spring.

Dr. Harold A. Bosley, minister the First Methodist Church of Evansto Illinois, will speak April 18 at Bal more, Maryland, where he was for so years minister of the Mount Vernon Pla Methodist Church.

Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, national known pastor of the Central Methodi Church of Detroit, will be the closi speaker at St. Louis on May 3.

Other key speakers will be the Re Ralph Abernathy, pastor of the Fir Baptist Church of Montgomery, Ala and vice president of the Montgome Improvement Association; and Alfr Hassler, editor of *Fellowship* and ac ing executive secretary of the FOR.

Five "national conferences" ha been planned for 1958, three in t spring and two next fall. These will followed next year by one large conf ence, thus setting a cycle it is hop will be a pattern for future years. T "sectional" conferences make possib a more representative attendance, b there is also much sentiment for a b ennial conference that is genuine national in scope.

Details for this year's conferences far arranged are as follows:

Baltimore, Md., April 18, 19. *Friday ening:* Dr. Harold A. Bosley. *Saturday rning:* panel, "New Techniques in ce Relations"; *afternoon:* panel, acifism in the Nuclear Age"; *evening* v. Ralph Abernathy, and another eaker.

Cincinnati, Ohio, April 25,26. *Friday ening:* Rev. Ralph Abernathy and other speaker; *Saturday morning and ernoon:* panels: *evening:* Alfred ssler.

St. Louis, Mo., May 2, 3. *Friday ening:* Rev. Ralph Abernathy and other speaker; *Saturday morning and ternoon:* panels; *evening:* Dr. Henry tt Crane.

Registration is $2.50 per person ($1 students); overnight accomodations, cluding breakfast, $2 per person. servations should be sent to: Con-ence, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. Further tails of place, speakers and times ll be announced later.

Thomas on Gandhi

Norman Thomas, who was executive sec-ary of the FOR during and immediately er World War I, may be inching back to pacifism he left before World War II. In recent sermon at All Souls' Church in shington, spoke approvingly of Gandhi's violent methods as "a way of resistance evil that does not destroy mankind." He d the United States should adopt a new, re passive, more decent type of diplomacy save the world from extinction.

lden Rule Hit by orm, Turns Back

The 30-foot ketch *Golden Rule,* which iled from San Pedro, California on Febru-10, nine days later was forced by storm nditions to turn back. The *Golden Rule,* nned by four pacifists, was headed for Marshall Islands nuclear-testing area as protest against continued manufacture d testing of nuclear weapons.

The ketch ran into a severe storm about 700 miles off the California coast, with near-zero temperatures. The crew declined a Coast Guard offer to take them off, but damage to the craft that could not be repaired at sea persuaded skipper Albert Bigelow to accept Coast Guard advice to return to San Pedro. The decision about whether and how to resume the voyage will be made after the boat's return, probably about March 1. The weapons tests are scheduled for April.

No injuries to crew members have been reported.

British Pacifist Wins

Jack McCann, self-styled "Christian Socialist," won handily in a Parliamentary by-election in England last month on a platform calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament. McCann was the Labor Party candidate in Rochdale, famous for the beginnings of the cooperative movement.

Second in the race was Liberal candidate Ludovic Kennedy, who also called for unilateral abandonment of nuclear weapons. Kennedy and McCann between them polled almost four times as many votes as the Conservative candidate, John Parkinson, who adhered to the Government position of disarmament through negotiation.

The seat had been held by the Conservatives, who won in 1955 by a margin of 1590 votes out of 51,599 cast.

Peace News Banned

Peace News, weekly pacifist newspaper published in England, has been banned from the Union of South Africa. The War Resisters International has called on pacifists everywhere, along with others concerned for freedom of the press, to lodge protests with South African embassies in their own countries.

READERS PLEASE NOTE

This issue was mailed from Lebanon, Pa., on February 26. If it is late reaching you, please drop us a card at Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

THE FELLOWSHIP IN ACTION

FOR member Harrop A. Freeman, professor of law at Cornell University, is co-author with Stanley Yaker of "Disarmament and Atomic Control: Legal and Non-Legal Problems," published in the Winter, 1958, issue of *Cornell Law Quarterly.* Reprints available from FOR at 25¢.

New office of FOR in Northwest is Room 20, 1314 E. 43rd Street, Seattle 5, Wash. Bob Porter holds down the desk there.

The new projects reported "under exploration" by staff at February meeting of Executive Committee are month-long audio-visual workshop at Nyack in July, and anti-war witness near missile-testing center at Cape Canaveral, Florida. Latter would probably start in June.

A score of high-school age young people from the Episcopal churches of Danvers and Peabody, Mass., will make FOR Nyack headquarters their home during three-day peace seminar March 5, 6, 7.

Dr. Robert C. Murphy Jr., FOR member and psychiatrist, will lecture on "Resources of the Unconscious" at Pendle Hill summer term, July 3-31.

Dr. Martin Luther King is most recent to join *Fellowship's* list of Editorial Contributors.

Hildegarde Mayr, IFOR secretary in Vienna, will be married at Easter to Parisian FOR-member Jean Goss, who wil come on the IFOR staff at Vienna. Th couple will operate the new IFOR centr in that city.

Some members of Covington Communit Church, Kent, Washington, are planning cooperative community. Interested person should get in touch with the minister FOR member Clement Bontrager, Rt. 3, Bo 244A, Kent.

DATES TO REMEMBER

Reconciliation Team (Smiley, Lawson, A ernathy). Headquarters 2006 Grand, Nas ville 12, Tenn.

Mar. 3-13. Memphis, Little Rock, Dalla Houston, Jackson, Miss.; *Mar. 14-1* Nashville; *Mar. 18,19,* Hood Theo. Sem Salisburg, N.C.; *Mar. 20,21,* Columbia, S.C *Mar. 22,23,* Atlanta, Ga.

Mar. 6. Boston FOR at Friends Cente Cambridge. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty.

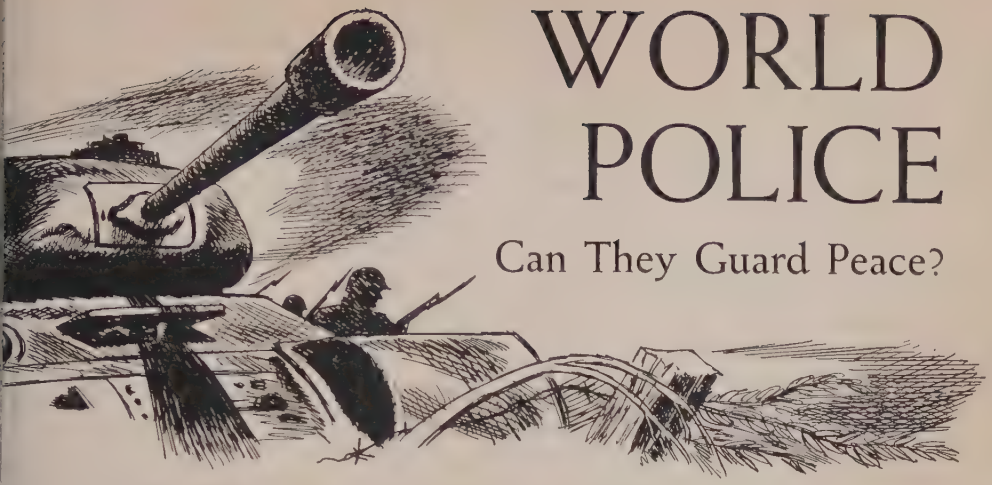
Mar. 18. FOR Exec. Committee, N.Y.

Mar. 21-23. AFSC high school conferen in New England, with FOR sec'y Robe Gussner as a resource leader. Inq. AFS Box 247, Cambridge, Mass.

Apr. 11,12. FOR National Council meetin Nyack, N.Y.

STIRRED-UP PACIFIST

Fifty boys and girls from a junior high school in Clearwater, Florida, were taken to court to hear a Negro sentenced to death for rape of a white woman, and to hear the judge tell them, "It's so much nicer for people to live within the law." FOR member Dale Brothington read it in the paper: promptly went to Clearwater, distributed anti-capital punishment literature to class, teachers, school library, the lawyers involved and the judge, visited newspaper editors who promised to print protest letter. Then, for good luck, he posted AFSC anti-war ad at the shuffleboard, tennis, horseshoe, and lawn bowling clubs, in four churches, the railroad and bus depots, the laundry room at a trailer park, in the VFW and American Legion headquarters and at two hotels. Then he went home.



WORLD POLICE

Can They Guard Peace?

A SYMPOSIUM ON A PROPOSED PERMANENT UN FORCE
BY ROY FINCH · MILTON MAYER · VERNON NASH · JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

A PREFATORY NOTE

THE USE OF A United Nations Emergency Force in last year's Suez crisis has once again aroused public interest in the question of an international armed force as an instrument for resolving conflicts between armed states.

This question dates back to 1944, when the Big Four powers (then the United States, Great Britain, the USSR and Nationalist China) met at Dumbarton Oaks to lay the groundwork for what was to become the United Nations. Although not adopted then or later, proposals have repeatedly been made by an articulate minority of people who believe that such a step would enable the problems that arise between power states to be solved in power terms without the cataclysm of world war.

One of the staunchest advocates of such proposals has been the American Association for the United Nations, which set forth last year a nine-point proposal for the establishment of a permanent "international police force" of 2,000 men. In brief, the AAUN proposed that these men be individually recruited from UN Member States on a wide geographical basis, placed under the direction of a permanent UN Commander responsible to the Secretary General. In addition, a kind of large "ready reserve" would be maintained, consisting of special units of the armed forces of Member States, to be selected and used in an emergency at the discretion of the UN.

"The Force," said the AAUN, "should be empowered to supervise plebiscites, cease-fires, withdrawal of troops, patrol demarcation lines, guard sites brought under the jurisdiction of the UN and establishments resulting from the International Atomic Energy Agency or future disarmament agreements, assist UN missions, etc."

Since the time of the "police action" in Korea, FELLOWSHIP has not dealt extensively with this problem. The editors do recognize, however, that some individuals whose views are worthy of respect, both pacifists and non-pacifists, regard the idea of a UN police force as a viable alternative to the anarchy of the present order. For that reason we have asked four qualified men, representing divergent viewpoints in pacifist thought, to examine the AAUN's proposals.

Each writer, we think, brings to the question a different slant, an original perspective and his own insights. None has had the opportunity of checking his views against the other three, and we did not anticipate the degree of unanimity that emerges in their conclusions.

—THE EDITORS.

WHOSE POLICEMEN?

BY MILTON MAYER

THE IRRESPONSIBILITY of the pacifist is illustrated again by his reaction to the proposal for a "Permanent International Police Force" under the United Nations. He says No—not that anyone listens to him or, indeed, asks him.

Is there *anything* he will say Yes to? The answer to that question is Yes. He will say Yes to reconciliation. He will say Yes to force—the force of reconciliation. But he cannot say Yes to force, legal or illegal, armed or unarmed, that is not animated by reconciliation. And he cannot say Yes to violence, because the force of violence destroys the force of reconciliation. The word "Force" in "Permanent International Police Force" means the force of violence.

And the word "police" no more means police than it meant police in the Korean "police action." The American Association for the United Nations, in making the International Police Force proposal, asserts, as if it were an axiom, that in Korea the UN Emergency Force "was put in on the side of the victim." But the USSR and other members of the UN do not accept the axiom. There is no accepted tribunal to establish the axiom, and the American Association for the United Nations is no more a tribunal than the Russian Association for the United Nations (if there is one). The Nations are not United. The government of China, a prime party to the Korean argument, is not even a member of the UN.

So the International Police Force, as the UN now stands, is not and cannot be a genuine police force. A police force brings before the bar of justice those charged with violating the laws of a community. The UN is not a community, and it has no laws, and it has no bar of justice.

The problem is not to furnish such a non-community with violence, nor would such furnishment reduce the depende of the members of that non-commu upon their own means of violence. problem is to convert the UN into a munity. Conversion is rarely instantane and, when it is, it is rarely durable. Nor the appurtenances of conversion consti conversion. At best, the Permanent Po Force is a digression; at worst, a new strument of violence colored up to like the police force of a true commun

The police do not keep the peace true community; if they were required it would take two policemen (one on e arm) for every citizen, and who would lice the policemen? What keeps the pe of a true community—and the only th that does or ever will—is the fact of c munity. To the extent that people wan live in community together without pol men, a police force is possible. All of people in such a community, in represe tive equality, rule the community. W rules the non-united United Nations? W belongs? Who doesn't?

The proposed police force *soi-disant* the Swedes say) can keep the peace betw Honduras and Paraguay, provided that United States or some other great powe combination of powers in or out of the is not unwilling to have the peace k between them. The League of Nations effective against the international narc traffic because, and only because, everyb in the League was against the traffic. L wise the white slave traffic. The Lea was effective for the postal and lightho traffics because everybody in the Lea was for them. The League was ineffec in Ethiopia because great, or great eno powers in the League were divided, and that rock the League broke, as all lea always have and always will.

The effort to amend the UN Charte

5 failed. Until it succeeds the UN will a league. The Charter contains the two rtal flaws of the Covenant—the veto l the sovereignty of the member state hin its own boundaries. Every school- knows this. The flaws will still be there en there is a Permanent Police Force, l the flaws are mortal. One of the flaws specifically embodied in the Permanent lice Force Proposal: The Force may not rate on the territory of a state without consent. The recent experience of Hun- y demonstrates the mortal character of s flaw, but the proponents of the Police rce do not mention Hungary; they men- n, rather Israel and Egypt. When we minate the flaws—and not *because* we minate them—we will know we have de progress toward true community. st the community, then the police force; s is elementary.

The appearance of effectiveness of the N Emergency Force between Egypt and ael was the consequence of the same happy factors that would produce the appearance of effectiveness of such a force between Honduras and Paraguay. The real parties to the dispute found it individually advantageous to keep the peace for the time being and in that one place. In Algeria it is different. In Cyprus it is different. In South Africa it is vastly different, just as it was in Nazi Germany. Where there is no justice, there will be war, and where there is no reconciliation there will be no peace.

In UN (or, perhaps, AAUN) terms, the pacifist continues to be irresponsible. He would like to be better understood, but to be better understood is not his most pressing business. His most pressing business is to keep the peace, and, by using the only force appropriate to keeping it, to make it. The pacifist has his hands full—at least this pacifist has—keeping one man's peace, his own. If he succeeds in doing that, he keeps more peace than any police force, real or imitation, will ever keep in any police action. He might even make a little.

THERE IS A BETTER WAY

BY ROY FINCH

HE PLAN FOR A permanent United Nations police force amounts, in substance, a proposal for the big nations to "po-" the little ones. No one supposes for a ment that the "police force" would or ld be used against the major interests of ner of the two big powers. Any attempt use it in this way would simply be a war ion. Had the United Nations, for example, attempted to intervene in Hungary "police" purposes, it would have been tamount to initiating another war of the rean sort, if not worse.

For this reason, statements in the recommendations of the American Association for United Nations for the "Creation of a manent International Police Force" st be read with a double standard in nd throughout. Where the Association speaks of the police force as "an instrument for the promotion of peaceful settlements" or of "temporary occupation of areas where conflict is imminent," we must add: "between the smaller nations."

No doubt a case can be made out by someone (but probably not by pacifists) for the big powers policing the little ones, but the hypocrisy of pretending that this is a matter of "international justice" or that it will help to relieve the basic world tension can only work to lower the prestige of the United Nations. Palestine, Korea and Hungary have made all too clear exactly what the possibilities and limitations of "police action" are.

We need to look deeper and raise the question whether the very notion of the United Nations policing the world by force

is not mistaken. The arms of the UNEF troops in the Near East are only a token; the 2,000-man force could easily be crushed by either side. It is effective only because it is backed up by "world opinion" and by the big powers.

The Nonviolent Alternative

Since the United Nations cannot compete militarily with either of the two big world powers, one cannot help wondering why it does not drop the fiction of military force and arms altogether and think solely in terms of nonviolent action and a nonviolent, unarmed field group to be sent into trouble areas. Why not rely wholly and unashamedly on the only significant strength which the United Nations has in any case—moral force?

So tenacious are established ways of thinking, however, that the only way most statesmen can think of to preserve peace is by means of instruments of violence. Hence some will say that the United Nations police force may not amount to much now, but it is a step toward the day when the United Nations will have genuine overwhelming military power. Why not take the step and establish the precedent toward that goal?

The answer is that a world in which overwhelming military power is necessary in the hands of *any group* would still not be a warless world. The aim should be to get rid of violence, not to concentrate the means of it in the hands of an international organization. To the extent that a genuine international community existed, no big military power would be needed anyway. Only nations still armed to the teeth would require a huge counterbalancing military force.

The United Nations should symbolize, not the continuation of the era of war and large-scale violence, but the beginning of a new era of disarmament in which sanctions other than military force can be effectively applied. The picture of a world in which every nation is disarmed and only the United Nations has military power is appealing only if we forget that: (1) the nations would then struggle to control the United Nations as the final source of world mastery or (2) to the extent that all nations accepted the United Nations its milita power would be unnecessary.

The possibility of world tyranny throu a United Nations monopoly of milita power and control of the United Natio by one nation or bloc of nations is too r to be lightly dismissed. As long as there mains *any* seat of military power there w be a temptation for the politicians to try control it for their own purposes. W should think twice before we help to crea another potential instrument for abuse a bullying in the world.

Wanted: An Unarmed Army

Certain aspects of the police force p posal might make sense—if they were tra posed fully into a nonviolent key. A *Pe Service* of unarmed volunteers (men a women also, *not* recruited from regu armies) wearing a special uniform or otl symbol and ready to leave at a mome notice to interpose themselves in confl situations on behalf of the United Natio might be an effective way of waging pea The United Nations would indeed beco a cause when it could call on men a women ready to risk their lives for it. new center of emotional attachment wou be created around which young peop particularly, could rally in place of the tion state. It would be an entirely n *kind* of army, as different from the kinds as the United Nations itself purpo or hopes to be different from old kinds national sovereignty.

It was the belief of Gandhi, and also Tolstoi, that, contrary to superficial pressions and contrary to the way in wh our history books are written, nothing importance has been produced in hist by violence. The surface appearances changed, but men's minds are not chang Everything remains on the same level, w the same evils simply reshuffled. Violen in other words, is not an answer, and general this applies to police violence well as to other kinds. Most police fo serve largely a symbolic function; the vistic remnant in them is their use of lence.

One does not, of course, have to be antinomian to be either a Christian o pacifist. One can object to war without

ng to either personal violence or po- violence. The requirement that only ts have a right to be pacifists has done h harm to pacifism as a social move- t. It is nevertheless true that pacifists try to cut down the incidence of vio- e in society generally, since there is un- ptedly a connection between the vio- e within a society and war. We should encourage the notion that force, even olice force, can solve problems.

he United Nations is in no position to ce the world, and there are reasons to e that it never will be. This is not to grate the United Nations, which is ady something more important than a ceman. Its chief function is to expose ple to differences of opinion and thus y to reduce national monomania. Emo- al currents are set in motion by the e existence of an international organi- on which can eventually produce the important revolutions—revolutions in ways of thinking.

Ve cannot, on the other hand, have h faith in so-called statesmen. Like most tical leaders, they almost never have the gination or moral sensitivity that the ld needs in moments of crisis. In gen- what makes a man successful as a po- al or military leader is roughly the same g which, under slightly different cir- stances, would make him a success as ler of an underworld gang (that is, lities of animal force and calculation lied to other people.) What has hap- ed in the twentieth century in the way var, tyranny, and political treachery is, ortunately, a fairly typical cross-section what most of history has been like. tico-criminal types are always ready to over any nation completely. (Hitler Stalin, whose counterparts have existed ughout all human history, are only the t extreme recent examples of this.)

nder these circumstances it is a mistake increase the power at the top of any ety, regardless of how much prestige tical and military leaders succeed in rounding themselves with. Our tendency dly to trust political leaders, who of men generally least deserve trust, is an alling symptom of historical naiveté. As g as there are political leaders, it is an nentary precaution to hold them ac- countable, change them frequently, and see that they are played off against each other (roughly what is meant by democracy).

Rearrangements of power at the top, deals between leaders, police forces and the like cannot achieve any solid basis for peace, but at the most procure temporary breathing spells, and perhaps not even that. What *is* important is the "opening up" of the world—free travel flow of people, ideas and culture everywhere—massive reconciliation rather than massive retaliation. It is a sobering thought (particularly for those who believe in automatic "progress," if there are any such left) that at no time in the past have there been so many barriers to free travel as there are today. In the days of Greece and Rome, and even in the Middle Ages, men could travel more freely than they can today. The United Nations could accomplish more by breaking down travel restrictions than it ever could by setting up an international police force.

Large-scale, government-sponsored vacation tours to Russia within the budgets of ordinary people; multilingual editions of newspapers, magazines and books; required study abroad for college students at government expense; establishment of international institutes for the pooling of knowledge; removal of currency, passport and visa restrictions; large-scale exchange of professors, doctors and engineers—these are the sort of projects which the United Nations should expedite for the sake of peace.

Peace Requires Community

There is no guarantee of peace, of course, even in free travel and cultural exchange, as long as sentiments of aggressive nationalism are wantonly stimulated in other ways. Would an international police force help to get rid of exaggerated nationalism? It is hard to see how. International symbols are needed which will evoke loyalty and a sense of world community. People cannot be browbeaten into these feelings. The lack of true community which makes police ineffectual within a nation would likewise make them ineffectual between nations.

The fact that many communities have existed without police shows that this war does not have to get started. Huge police forces grow up in the economically and

psychologically unbalanced conditions of big cities. A world of have and have-not nations would be a similarly unbalanced world, tending to develop hostilities and aggression. Not an international police to enforce some kind of status quo, but measures to remove the poverty and inequality between the nations is the answer. A peaceful world, like a peaceful city, can not exist half slum and half gold coast.

Finally we should notice that policing, if there has to be any, should be on the local level. A national police force to police a nation is a more dangerous weapon, even more open to disastrous consequence of abuse. An international police force to police the world holds monstrous possibilities. We can foresee a smaller and smaller world with greater and greater technological power concentrated in a few hands. What gan as something seemingly more or inocuous in a relatively short time mi become a scourge.

The international police force idea a superficial attractiveness because it in with the common way of thinking ab governments. Governments need mili force, most people believe; the United tions will not amount to much until it has military force. We need to reverse proposition and realize that the contra true. The United Nations will ne amount to anything if it relies on mili force. It will amount to something onl the extent that it can persuade and l the world to the use of other methods t military force. This it will not do by it relying on military force.

THE MOTION IS "OUT OF ORDER"

BY VERNON NASH

PROPOSALS TO GIVE independent authority and power to the UN as it now is are, in the literal sense of the phrase, "out of order." Before it can be either right or prudent to attempt any such thing, we must make some basic changes in the United Nations, and the military establishments of all member-nations must first be reduced to such light-armed forces as may be required in each country for the maintenance of domestic order.

Precedents which can be cited as being instances of wholesome use of military forces in peace-maintenance, like Little Rock, or the Detroit race riots, or the British General Strike, were all cases in which everyone involved on both sides was equally subject to a single authority. It is probable in a properly governed world that the global authority would need at intervals to make similar use of light-armed military units. Nothing more than this would ever be needed, even in the event of mass rebellion, if heavy armaments had been universally abolished.

Satisfactory functioning of any type constabulary requires that its actions s be determined and controlled by statu law. There is, at present, no slightest pr sion for the enactment, administration adjudication of that vital type of law the world level.

Most proponents of a UN force t that it should act under the instruction either the Security Council or the Assem It would make a world of difference wh body is in control in a given instance, neither as presently set up is trustwo for the purpose. All have recognized f the beginning that a few great nations h preponderant power in the Council; th is no sufficient general recognition as that the basis of representation in the sembly is just as preposterous at the o extreme. One fourth of humanity, appr mately, has only three votes in the Assem (U.S.A., USSR and India); another fou is without representation (contine

a), and the other half of the human has over eighty votes. No political n will be trusted, or prove workable, those subject to it have a voice in it dly comparable to their numbers and stakes, at least in one of two legisla- bodies possessing equal power.

he AAUN proposes that a permanent national police force "should have the to go anywhere. . . ." What agency could conceivably enforce that right? UN could not even secure permission ts Secretary General to enter Hungary a mere mission of inspection. The EF in the Gaza Strip is there on suffer- and must be withdrawn whenever er so demands. Here is but another of many ways in which international con- ents to which the name "police" has given differ fundamentally from polic- agencies within nations.

s long as all countries remain heavily ed, and as long as the UN is merely a e association of fully sovereign states, a lled UN police force could be used against a few very small and very k nations which were unaffiliated with great power. Such discrimination is morally wrong and would prove un- kable in practice.

World Order Means World Law

Ve shall get world peace only as we deal istically with fundamentals. Will suc- ful coping with minor matters assist tly in the major task? This is an un- ved assumption. One does not see that presence of the UNEF in Egypt affected way or the other the subsequent ten- s over Mt. Scopus or over the incidents he Turko-Syrian border, though all are in a single small region.

n international *posse comitatus,* acting n anarchic world, would be dealing of ssity with agents rather than principals. re would be no way by which it could at the latter, short of war. Conse- ntly, in areas of acute disorder, it either ld be futile or would be compelled to e war. The police of our various coun- s could not function acceptably if com- ed to operate under the conditions ch would govern a UN "peace guard." ur city patrolmen, sheriffs, state troop- ers and federal marshals could not possibly act under due process of law if all the population with whom they dealt were as well armed as they. They could not operate peaceably at all but for the existence of courts to which they can turn over those whom they apprehend for indictment, trial, and punishment if convicted. None of these essential facilities would be "standing behind" a UN "police" force.

All discussions flit lightly around the tough fact that military operations of any kind are so much more expensive than civilian projects. UNEF's cost in Egypt in 1957 was $16,000,000—a substantial fraction of the UN's total budget for all other purposes. It was able to raise only a fourth of that amount; the United States met the deficit. It is precarious to assume that that will continue indefinitely.

The widely supported movement for attaching so-called police forces to the existing UN is just the most publicized of many ways by which folks seek to gain the benefits of world government without paying the price of transferring to the UN certain vital aspects of national sovereignty. I predict confidently that no shortcuts will be found. The very attitudes and conditions which made an organic world union so hard to get are precisely the factors which will stultify anything less powerful and less coherent than a world government. The necessary act, when taken, must be in one consistent whole.

This conclusion is, to many, a counsel of despair. They turn the argument inside out and observe: "If nations are not willing to go even so far as to support a small world police contingent, then what chance is there that they would go all the way?" I suggest that profound popular indifference to a lot of half-way measures (including the UN itself) arises from an intuitive sense that they are totally inadequate. We have no way of knowing what the response of the world's peoples would be to a plan for a properly governed world until the proposal has been made under auspices which would gain their serious and undivided attention to it. I have no doubt that they would then go all-out for it not only within the free world but also behind the Iron Curtain. Today we merely give them a choice of sides in a race toward collective suicide.

PALLIATIVES WILL NOT DO

BY JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

MOST OF THE proposals that have been advanced for a United Nations police force either confuse police functions with army functions or with those of the militia. The AAUN proposal suffers from this same confusion. At the very least, such a force would be of militia size and training, available as is the U.S. National Guard either for police or army functions, using armed ground and air force units.

Although at the outset it might be thought of chiefly or wholly in semi-police terms, its functions and power might be expanded in some circumstances to waging war.

Since individuals acting apart from the wishes of their nation state are rarely, if ever, responsible for international conflict, such a force would be used chiefly to coerce or restrain states or to deal with groups or individuals set loose by the state. Thus the UN force, if used against states, would function as an army and if used against groups or individuals "unrestrained" by their own state would to some extent be engaged in police functions.

There is thus a curious logic to the proposal in that it aims at dealing with problems arising from the irresponsible actions of states by "police" methods which would work only if applied to irresponsible individuals.

In any event, the United Nations would not sanction the use of such a force unless the great powers were agreed among themselves. The veto would be sufficient in the Security Council to prevent its use. In the General Assembly either American or Soviet influence would probably prevent its use if it were contrary to their world political aims. It is not only for this reason that such a force could be used only in connection with small states but because no great power would let itself be militarily restrained if its power interests would be injured by such restraint.

Moreover, it is unlikely that it would be used in the case of small states for two reasons:

(1) There are very few, if any, places in the world today where the power interests of America and Russia coincide to an extent that would permit them to agree on the use of such a force. The one occasion since 1945 was in the Middle East when the United States could not afford to allow the Arabs and Russia could not afford to have the British-French-Israeli invasion destroy Nasser. Such a coincidence of interests is not likely to occur again.

(2) If either the United States or the USSR tried to have the UN force use it where it would interfere with the political aims of the other, it could not be used without the very real danger of war. Action in the name of the UN between satellites or allies of the great powers would not be a police action either in method or consequences.

As J. L. Brierly, an English expert on international law, has put it: "Small powers aggression never has been and never will be a serious problem to the peace of the world if the Great Powers are agreed among themselves, and if they are not then this machinery cannot be used."[1]

In the case of the nations affected by such action, whether great or small powers, they would in assenting to the intervention of a UN Force either have to take action contrary to their national interest or not feel strongly enough immediately to press the issue that had created the conflict. The former is extremely difficult in view of the fact that most people give their ultimate

1 J. L. Brierly, *The Law of Nations*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, England, 1955.

ical loyalty to the nation rather than
ie United Nations. It is this conflict of
ests and loyalties which makes a world
e unit impractical.

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between a police force and an army,
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g in unarmed states. Disarmament is
the only possible foundation for an
d world police force.

we look at the one actual use of in-
ational armed force that is comparable
hat proposed by the AAUN we note
e things: (1) the UN force that was sent
ie Middle East went with the consent
oth Israel and Egypt; (2) it went under
ific restriction not to interfere in the
rnal life of either state; (3) it was
d only with small arms. This meant
it could not be used effectively against
larger and better armed forces of Egypt
srael. It was effective because it repre-
ed world public opinion, because of its
al rather than its military force. Thus
ould as easily have been an unarmed
ler patrol.

the Middle East, problems that created
lict are still unsolved, but we have lost
e of the sense of urgency now that a
ice force" is there. If the "police force"
nerely a palliative which reduces the
e of urgency and thus permits the
ted Nations to avoid dealing with the
problem, even the best police force in
world may thus contribute to a more
nsive international explosion later on.
is therefore of the utmost importance
oncentrate on the achievement of dis-
ament and the abolition of war rather
to extend the concept of armed col-
ve security, however moral the purpose
uch an armed force may seem to be.

MEMO

TO: FELLOWSHIP READERS
FROM: BILL MILLER

Alarm — Pacifism, they say, is a crazy idea: "What do you want to do, get us all killed with your tomfoolery?" Better play safe, they say; find yourself a good grave-sized hole and crawl in. The anti-anti-anti-missiles will save our skins.

But the ornery pacifist, who would like to save the whole man—skin, soul and all—is still sounding the alarm against this suicidal "realism." The tomfoolery this time consists of a series of Survival Leaflets, designed to perk up those who have not yet thrown in the towel for the human race, and who are silly enough to want to keep the world from being radioactivated out of existence.

The titles of the Survival Leaflets speak pretty well for themselves:

1. **Bomb Tests CAN Be Stopped.**
2. **Civil Defense Is No Defense.**
3. **Is Terror the Way to Peace?**
4. **The Meaning of the Missiles.**
5. **The Christian and Nuclear War.**
6. **A Crash Program for Peace.**

Package Deal — These alarm-sounders are 3c each, 35 for $1, but since we hate to break up a set so nicely matched, you can get them a mite cheaper by the half dozen: 15c per set, 25 sets for $3.50.

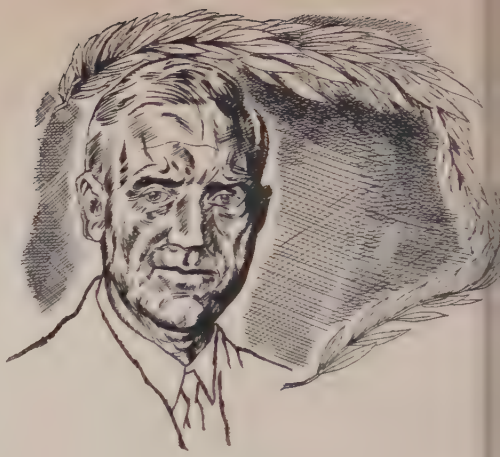
If there is any chance of swinging this battered world from the brink of suicide to the brink of peace, the Survival Leaflets may help to turn the trick. It may not be a foolproof remedy, but don't you think it's worth trying?

I'll be looking for your order. Meanwhile, peace be with you!

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS
Nyack, New York
FOR

IN MEMORIAM

Kirby Page



BY JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

KIRBY PAGE lived a great life and he lived it to the full. He was born in a hamlet in Texas on August 7, 1890, and died at his home in California on December 16, 1957, two days after a heart attack from which he never recovered.

Kirby Page was an institution. Although he worked with organizations, he was a free-lance evangelist during the major part of his career. His field was the world and he operated on a grand scale. He traveled more than a million miles in 43 countries on four continents and in all the states of the United States; he spoke in 2,000 churches, in chapels on 400 college campuses, and to church conventions and many of the largest student conferences of America. He was listened to on innumerable lecture platforms, engaged in many debates and broadcasts over the radio.

He wrote or edited thirty books and thirty pamphlets. Many of the latter were sold inexpensively and thousands of them given away. Gandhi published serially in his magazine Kirby Page's *War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure*. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, who wrote the introduction to this book, stated here perhaps for the first time (1923) his own convictions as a pacifist Christian. Some of Kirby's books have been translated and published in French, German, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Greek, Bulgarian, Spanish, Chinese and Japanese. Their total sales have exceeded 1,000,000 copies.

Kirby Page got his education the hard way. His father deserted the family when Kirby was nine. The region where he lived as a boy was so lawless that the mayor of Beaumont issued a public warning to citizens "to tote guns an' tote 'em in [y] hands, not on your hips, so everyone see you're loaded." Kirby's mother, a w an of extraordinary moral strength, ear the family livelihood, went without in or that her three children might have, tau them integrity, hard work and thrift, brought them up in the atmosphere of ligion. He went to the public school, S day School and church, did chores earned what he could after school ho By nature he was buoyant and expect blessed with abounding health and im sible to discourage.

In 1905 the family moved to Pasade California, but after two years they w back in Texas. At the age of 17, K enrolled in a business college in Hous where he learned shorthand and met A Folse, who later became his wife. He employed for three and a half years by Houston YMCA, first as Basement Se tary, then as Boys' Work Secretary, the assistant to the General Secretary. He cided to enter the ministry and go to lege, although it meant working his through four years at Drake Univer postponing his marriage and borrow money. At a later period in his life he t graduate courses at the University of cago, Columbia University and Union ological Seminary.

Opportunity for wide travel in for lands was opened to Kirby when he app for and obtained the position of pri secretary to Sherwood Eddy in 1915. apprenticeship, which lasted two and a years, took him on two journeys to the zone, and on a protracted evangelistic paign by Sherwood Eddy and others in

East. Kirby also spent a summer as John Mott's secretary.

1921, Sherwood Eddy invited Kirby e an independent colleague in free- speaking and writing, Sherwood sup- ng the needed financial resources. This igement continued for the better part ree decades and enabled Kirby to par- ate in three European traveling semi- and to tour Russia, the Near East, h Africa, India, China, the Philippines Japan. In his autobiography (not yet ished) Kirby has written that Sherwood been "father and brother to me for e than forty years, and the influence he had upon my life is beyond measure- t."

Page Embraces Pacifism

irby Page became convinced that paci- was an essential part of the Christian el on his tour with Eddy to the war ps in Wales, Scotland and England. y talked with many soldiers and had nate conversations with four pacifists at time: Harold Gray, Maxwell Chaplin, ry Hodgkin and Maud Royden. At the of three months his mind was "easy" he subject and for the rest of his life he r wavered in his conviction that "the of war is so contrary to the way of s that I should never consent to it or me a combatant." He did not reach position by doctrinaire reasoning, al- gh he was often caricatured as an "ab- ist." He has written, "It is correct to hat I am an absolute pacifist if by that eant I am unable to reconcile the way ar and the way of Jesus, and therefore diate the military method in order that y strive to follow Jesus." He joined the owship of Reconciliation on November 16.

eferring to his ministry from this time o the outbreak of World War II, the *stian Century* says, "He probably con- ed more young Christians to pacifism any other circuit rider of peace." n the Fellowship of Reconciliation sent uestionnaire to 1,000 members in the s asking what influences had led them ake the pacifist position, the answers ed that (1) as to books, Kirby's writ- ranked next to the New Testament and (2) as to speakers, Kirby's name was at the top of the list.

He was similarly influential in presenting to churchmen the argument that the Church as a corporate institution should renounce war. In 1922 he and I suggested to Fred B. Smith, a prominent layman in the Federal Council of Churches, that he call together a group to consider issuing a statement about the responsibility of the churches in relation to war. The result was that William P. Merrill, Harry Emerson Fosdick and Kirby Page drafted a statement which was signed by 155 well-known churchmen. It proved to be an historic document because it was, I think, the first proclamation of conviction by an influential group of American Christians—Protestants and Catholics—that war is the most ruinous organized sin, that the spirit of war and the spirit of the Gospel are antithetical; and it made the appeal that the crisis of decision between war and Christ be recognized and stated. The next year Kirby published his book, *War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure,* and the Federal Council of Churches sent paper-covered copies to 53,000 ministers with an accompanying letter from one of its Secretaries.

The World Tomorrow

For eight years Kirby was editor of *The World Tomorrow,* the Christian pacifist journal which had been launched by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the First World War.

In 1931 and again in 1934 Kirby organized the sending of war-and-peace questionnaires to clergymen, the results of which were summarized in *The World Tomorrow.* The 1934 questionnaire was sent to 100,000 Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis and brought in 20,870 replies in which 13,497 stated their conviction that "the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war," and 12,904 declared their personal purpose "not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant."

As the threat of the Second World War came closer, Kirby joined with Ray Newton in organizing and promoting the Emergency Peace Campaign.

Kirby Page's preaching and writing extended over 46 years. His emphasis was on personal commitment and social nurture, on social passion and social action, and he strove for Christian reconciliation in the great conflict areas of war, economic justice and race relations. About half of his books deal with social problems and half with the will of God, the significance of Jesus, and devotional readings, although personal responsibility for social action runs through all of them.

Kirby spent about half of his time in travel and speaking and half in diligent research, study and writing. He acquired an immense fund of specific factual knowledge and became a master in the exposition of this material. I doubt if he was often caught out on a misstatement in the thousands of meetings he addressed and the question periods following. To a remarkable degree he achieved balance and fairness in presenting his points, although his standpoint was more that of an advocate than of a judge or university professor. He had a case to present in which he passionately believed and he dug up new evidence and did not hide his own opinions under a bushel. But he did not suppress evidence or tamper with truth. Thus he was a propagandist in the best sense of the word. Truth was sacred to him, as it was to Gandhi.

A Target of Smears

After both world wars, the United States was swept by waves of extreme hysteria. Kirby Page became a target of smear campaigns and innumerable attempts were made to interfere with his meetings. He was accused of being disloyal to the U.S., of being a "Socialist Red," of getting financial subsidies from Moscow, and plotting with Negroes and pacifists for the overthrow of our government. The facts, of course, were that he never plotted with anybody, never received a penny from Moscow, was never a "fellow traveler," that he vigorously and persistently opposed united fronts with Communists in the American peace movement and in church circles; and that his socialism—a Norman Thomas variety—derived from his independent criticism of American capitalism as it was before the New Deal, and on the other hand from his understanding of the teachings of Jesu

However, there was bitter and protrac opposition to Kirby Page from such gro as the National Civic Federation hea by Judge Alton B. Parker; from army cers including Generals Pershing and M Arthur; from ROTC officers who tried prevent Kirby from speaking in college which they were attached; and from m bers of the American Legion. A Te fundamentalist newspaper waged a c paign against him, and an unverified uncorrected charge was widely dissemina by the *Literary Digest*. These and m other attacks brought on an avalanche criticism which convinced many univer presidents and others that Kirby Page too controversial a person to have on t campuses. In a hundred instances could be named, friends who had arran meetings for Kirby were subjected to sive attacks in the press or reprimande their superior officials, and in a few t they lost their positions.

To Do God's Will

Kirby never retaliated, never institute libel suit. He took it all as part of ministry for the Master who had been fied before him. He just went on work as hard as ever, devoting his time to w in channels that were open. Kirby lo nature and people. He did not ar riches but he had hosts of wonde friends. Through 44 years of marriage Alma Page, life and love were shared beautiful way, as they were with their children. Adventures in common t were varied and colorful. Alma gener drove the car, their means of transporta on many a journey. One year they were tour nine months and Alma drove the a mobile through 31 states. Of course K had human frailties. He confesses that had to give up playing bridge in his ho "I was too tense, too eager to win, too c cal of my partner, and too envious of g cards drawn by our opponents. . . these same reasons Sherwood and I stop playing on ocean voyages."

Religion was no opiate to Kirby P The deep and dominant motivation ning through his life, from the age of was his desire to do the will of God, an

others to do it. He found it most of all Jesus Christ and he became a man of l, growing toward the stature of the ness of Christ. Age did not tone down dim his message. His pacifism and strug- for economic justice and interracial therhood flowed from the deep wells of religion and the flow never abated. With voice and pen and life Kirby endeavored "to open windows to the invisible world of the spirit," and the light came in. He enjoyed his work and wrote, "My days have been spent in doing what I most wanted to do."

WE KNEW HIM WELL

MMEMORATIVE COMMENTS BY PEOPLE WHOSE LIVES WERE TOUCHED BY KIRBY PAGE

IRBY PAGE WAS the greatest pacifist I r knew. Back in the twenties, under his uence, I became a pacifist for about a ade. When I wrote *Eighty Adventurous rs* he insisted that I clarify my present pacifist position, which I did. His deep itual life, his indomitable will power, true humility made him what he was. t only in California but all over North erica and around the world he influ- ed men for Christ and for Christian ifism.

He was the most influential, the most sistent, the most absolute pacifist I ever w.

worked with Kirby for a longer period n any other man. We together wrote sold books and pamphlets and spoke the personal and social aspects of the spel all over America and over the ld.

thank God for his abiding influence, his fruitful and eventful life. I know of one who can take his place.

—SHERWOOD EDDY

IRBY PAGE WAS A MAN to be admired, ed and reverenced. In the hour of sud- danger, he enlisted in the service of noblest cause in the world, the peace se, and brought to it the rarest of great lities—an able mind, a pure heart, and spirit of utter dedication.

knew Kirby Page in those dread days ch witnessed the First World War and aftermath, the founding of the Fellow- p of Reconciliation, the printing of *The rld Tomorrow*, and the establishment pacifism which as a spirit of truth and teousness went round the world. In e later days, with the whole span of a tinent between us, I saw far less of him, always through the encircling gloom, light shone bright, to lead us on. In th as in life, he is our own. Amen.

—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

KIRBY PAGE CAME into my life in my pre-pacifist days. I had met a few other pacifists in those World War I days whose self-righteousness alienated me—and then I met Kirby Page. I might try to refute his arguments but I could not refute *him.* I shall always be grateful for his graciousness which made his thinking so personally persuasive. Probably I should have become a pacifist in the end anyway, but Kirby Page helped a lot, and all these years since he has been a challenge and an inspiration. As one of his disciples I am deeply thankful for his life and am saddened by his death.

—HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

I WILL NEVER CEASE to be grateful for the influence that Kirby Page exerted on my life in our early years when he took interest in my work and we became fast friends, traveling companions and colleagues in the pacifist cause. He was a man of serene faith and conviction and he had a gracious influence on the lives of all he touched. Our convictions became diametrically opposed, as the readers of this journal will know, but this difference of conviction did not break up our friendship nor has it changed my admiration and affection for him. His death is a great loss to all of us, but the grace of his spirit will live among us long after his death.

—REINHOLD NIEBUHR

SOME THIRTY YEARS AGO, when I was teaching at Earlham College, in Indiana, Kirby Page first came to that institution to discuss with us problems of religious pacifism. He made a deep impression on teachers and students, for he was an exponent of pacifism as a way of life and not simply as applicable in time of international war. As a devout worshiper to whom the presence of God was very real, he left one feeling the inevitability of rejecting war by one who

accepted the Christian vows. In addition to this, his effort to apply pacifism to his political thinking was suggestive, if not always conclusive. His contribution was not so much to answer questions as to raise them and to stimulate thought and discussion on the part of his hearers.

Kirby Page left a trail of ferment and concern in his small seminars and discussion groups which he so ably conducted, that has changed the course of life and thought for many Christians in his day. I join with many others who will thank God for his lifetime of devoted service in helping others to understand and accept the faith that so thoroughly encompassed him.

—Clarence E. Pickett

Back in 1935 I became very much concerned about the developments in Europe which, it seemed clear to some of us, were leading straight toward a second World War. I was in the throes of thinking through what might be done, and in the beginning of developing a program. I was in New York City, and had a few minutes to talk with Kirby Page about it. My schedule was such that I had to catch a train. Kirby, with his usual enthusiasm and decisiveness said, "Ray, this is important enough so that I am going to get on the train and ride back to Philadelphia with you."

There were three things, as I now recall it, which made the Emergency Peace Campaign of 1936-1937 possible. One was the solid support of the American Friends Service Committee; another was the very liberal gifts of a few friends of mine to help get it under way and support it; and the third was the enthusiasm of Kirby Page, with his vision, his drive, his acquaintance with people widely over the country, and his dedication to the cause of peace.

I think it would be safe to say that no one has had such a great influence for the promotion of world peace among the religious-minded leaders and young people of this country as has Kirby Page.

—Ray Newton

The passing of Kirby Page leaves an empty place both in the hearts of his friends and in the Christian life of America and the world. A great crusader for world peace, his devotional writing has also contributed richly to the foundations of inner peace in the spiritual life of thousands.

I have known Kirby since 1924 and can say of him that he was "a man in wh there was no guile." In his crusade righteousness there was always buoya and cheer. Some time in the early 19 while he was still editor of *The World morrow,* I wrote a sonnet about him, wh I entitled "The Crusader." It has been p lished, though not previously with name.[1] Let this stand now as my tribute him.

Crusader for a happier, fairer world,
He speaks the truth with poignancy a
power.
No carping word or slur can make hi
cower;
He bears no grudge when epithets ar
hurled.
For human good his ensign is unfurle
He lives to make men love. When wa
clouds lower.
He points the way to harmony; whe
dour
Disaster stalks the earth, and men ar
whirled
Into a chaos of impending doom,
He speaks for change and will not
acquiesce.
Defying prejudice and wonted wrong
He helps to build tomorrow's world.
gloom
Disturbs his buoyancy, though burden
press.
He worships, toils, and waits—and h
strong.

—Georgia Harkness

To Kirby Page, people on the other s of the Iron Curtain were human bei equally with us the objects of God's eter compassion—and judgment. He never c fused reconciliation with sentimental "We do not have to trust the Russians," kept insisting all last autumn, "we have trust God's way of dealing with them." important thing was not so much the da ness as the Light that alone could o come it.

Into that Light he has gone to be home. He had no blueprint of the after He did have confidence that God would *there* when the time came. It was on unlimited Caring Energy of God, able work in all situations, that Kirby reli May more and more of that reliance come a force in *our* lives!

—Allan A. Hunte

[1] In *Be Still and Know,* Abingdon Press, page 83

LETTERS

t is **Fellowship's** policy to print all letters f general interest to its readers, within easonable limits of space, whether they gree with **Fellowship's** viewpoint or not. ou can help to keep this column a free orum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

Was Justice Done?

r Editors:

hn M. Swomley Jr. questions the reliabil- of two contrasting views of the Rosenberg , one, John Wexley's set out in his book, e Judgement of Julius and Ethel Rosen- ," and the other, an article by Nathan er, refuting Wexley's charges.

would like to suggest that John Swomley everybody else who may share the persist- doubts of a great many thoughtful people, neither the trial nor the sentencing of the enbergs was in accordance with the best itions of American fairplay and justice, the carefully presented study of the case ten by Professor Malcolm Sharpe of Chi- University, titled "Was Justice Done? The of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell." fessor Sharpe's study resulted from his ling of the trial transcript. The preface is tten by Professor Harold Urey.

y own emotion on completing Professor rpe's book, and bearing in mind the relent- prosecution of the two cases, the Rosen- s' and Morton Sobell's, and the savage ishments meted out, was a horrified amaze- t at the legalized ferocity of an American rt of law. What lay behind the ruthless- ? What still lies behind the refusal of the reme Court to review the case of Morton ll, presently serving the 8th year of a 30 s' sentence on America's Devil's Island, traz?

ntil those questions are answered by the iest court in the land I believe with Pro- r Malcolm Sharpe, Professor Harold Urey, very many others, that justice was *not* e in the Rosenberg and Sobell cases.

SYBIL STICHT
Stockton, Calif.

Congratulations

r Editors:

ongratulations on the new FELLOWSHIP ch came today! I am much pleased with new format.

here are two items in particular upon ch I want to commend you—minor items, aps, but ones which particularly pleased as an editor (of a small fraternity maga-) myself and as one professionally inter- l in history and bibliography in my own . I am glad, first of all, to note that the ial "Peace Information Edition" is to be same size as the regular edition. This simplifies matters no end for those of us with an accumulative bent who like to save and file such things in a uniform fashion. Secondly, I am very happy to see that the "Peace Information Edition" when bound in the regular edition is *not* to be separately paged. If there is anything which distresses me about two types of issues of a publication, and which makes later bibliographic references confusing, it is having two sets of page numbers.

EDWARD G. VOSS
Ann Arbor, Michigan

The Church and Pacifism

Dear Editors:

I, for one, do not object to the Church's throwing in its forces in behalf of pacifism. I do object, however, to an identification of pacifism and Christianity, and this seems to me to be the tenor of the January issue of FELLOWSHIP (and, indeed, perhaps of the FOR).

Pacifists—even American pacifists—are not necessarily Christians, although one might argue that Christians ought to be pacifists.

JAMES MISSEY
Philadelphia, Penna.

Race Riots in Chicago

Dear Editors:

Because my article, "Plan Five: The Story of a Man Who Likes Flowers," in the December FELLOWSHIP, was written in the spring, the last paragraph on page 19 gives a distorted result. It was apparently edited so that the meaning was changed.

We didn't do enough, and there *were* race riots in Chicago last summer. The reason news about such things does not get the prominence it deserves is that metropolitan papers have a code of restriction of news about racial incidents.

JACK ROSS
Chicago, Ill.

[We apologize to our readers and to author Jack Ross for the error, which was caused by faulty editing in an effort to "update" his article. Originally scheduled for publication in

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

If you are planning to move, please try to notify FELLOWSHIP *at least two months in advance. Indicate both old and new address on a postcard and send to:* Change of Address, FELLOWSHIP, *Box 271, Nyack, N. Y. (If you are unable to do this, your copy of* FELLOWSHIP *will be unavoidably delayed, due to the mechanical requirements of our addressing department.)*

spring, "Plan Five" was deferred until winter, and we did not check our facts except by reference to the newspapers. The above is excerpted from a letter too long to print, which details a number of serious incidents of racial conflict in Chicago last summer. FELLOWSHIP will publish a further account in a forthcoming issue. —The Editors.]

Mental Health

Dear Editors:

I would like to contact members of the who are interested in the mental health gram outlined by Erich Fromm in the Ja FELLOWSHIP.

GLEN E. AL
Evart, Mich

ADVERTISEMENTS

THE PEACE RESISTANCE: 1500 different peace publications from 250 peace groups in 30 nations, sold by U. S. Committee Against Militarization. Remit 15c to A. Bofman, 6327 S. May, Chicago 21, Illinois.

THE PROBLEM OF PEACE is the problem of the whole of life. A peaceful world stems from integrated solutions to a complex of life-problems. Join discussion of them in *Balanced Living*, School of Living monthly, Brookville, Ohio.

FALLOUT—Radiation Hazards from Nuclear Explosions. Facts for laymen. Nine British scientists collaborate; Introduction: Bertrand Russell. Timely, important handbook, indispensable for effective anti-bomb crusading. 159 pp; cloth-bound, $2.75. Wellington's Bookshop, 346 Concord, Belmont 78, Mass.

Is there anywhere a dedicated soul (or ily of souls)—humble, patient, understan generous, compassionate, loving, experie capable, uplifting, socially concerned, d religious—who would like to live modest the country, to be an integral part of a rap growing natural foods business, to help light into a rather poor rural area? Re welcomed! Paul Keene, Box 3, Penns Creek

CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS interested in co ering a nonviolent, primitive Christian appr to the problem of world peace are invite write for information on The Peace Associa of Christian Scientists to Byron Belden, Box 625, Guymon, Oklahoma. (This is an i national association for the promotion and tension of a Christianly Scientific peace, members of which refrain from participati war. It functions as a private enterprise and as an agency of the Christian Science Chu

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATIO

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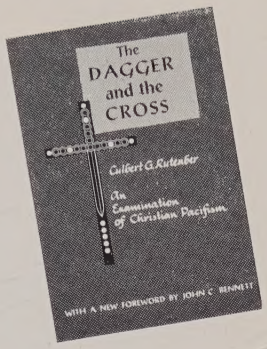
NEW FELLOWSHIP PAPERBACKS

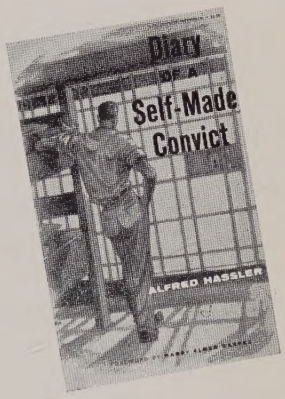
THE DAGGER AND THE CROSS



Culbert G. Rutenber's *The Dagger and the Cross* is now available in a new paperback edition. This book is more than an argument for pacifism—it goes out and meets critics of pacifism on their own terrain. "I hope that his book will have many readers among pacifists and among non-pacifists. He will help many pacifists to understand better than they do the Christian teaching about man and about the permanent conditions of his history. He will help many non-pacifists to remain alive to the costs of their position which they are tempted to hide from themselves in self-defense."—John C. Bennett, in his foreword to the new paperback edition.

138 pp., $1.50

DIARY OF A SELF-MADE CONVICT



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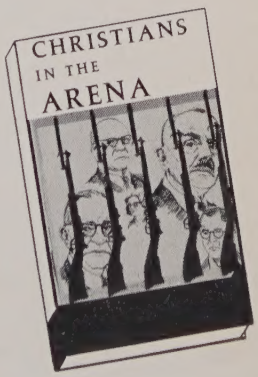

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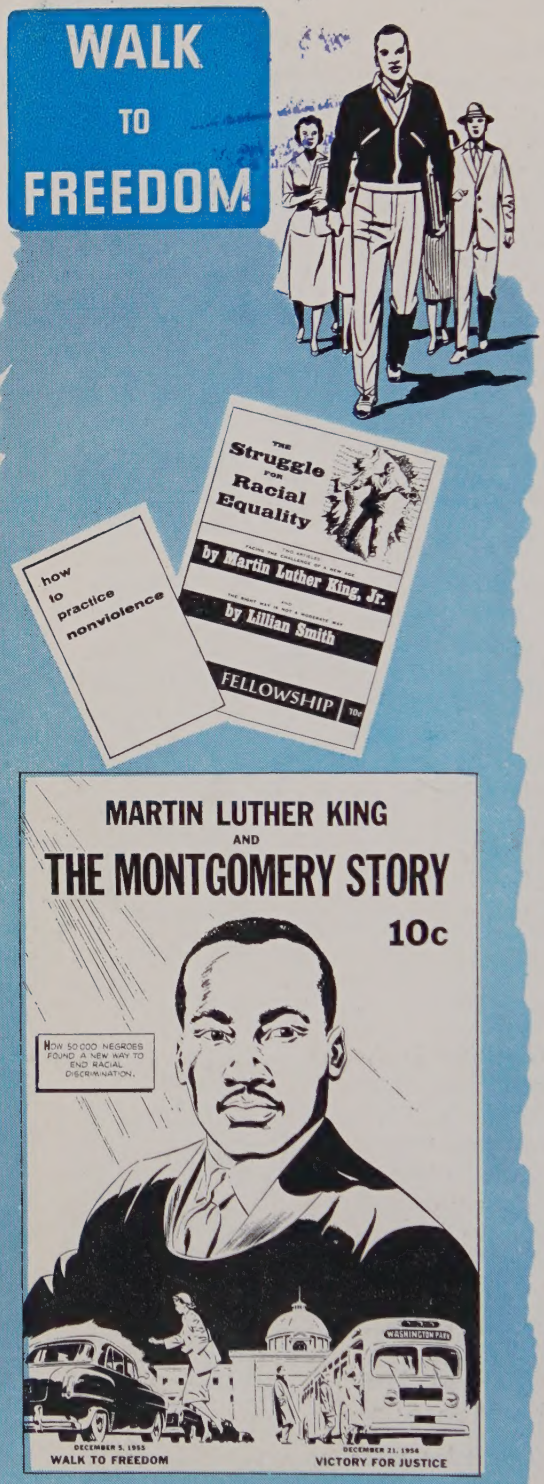

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